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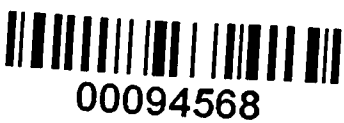

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A FULL REPORT OF THE PUBLIC MEETING ON THE EDUCATION AND ROAD CESS QUESTION.

94568

PURSUANT to advertizement a public meeting of Landholders and others interested in the land was convened in the Hall of the British Indian Association on Wednesday last the 2nd September 1868, at 4 P. M. The meeting was crowded to overflowing, almost all districts being represented by the leading Zemindars thereof or their agents and representatives. Among others there were Baboo Romanauth Tagore, Rajah Norendra Krishna, Kumars Suttyanund Ghosaul, Hurrendra Krishna, and Porandra Deb Roy, Baboos Joykissen Mookerjea, Degumber Mitter, Sreegopaul Paul Chowdry, Rajrajeshur Paul Chowdry, Radhamohun Dey Chowdry, Radhanauth Dey Chowdry, Sarodaprosonno Mookerjea, Sreenauth Mookerjea, Kassinauth Biswas, Chunderkant Roy Chowdry, Brindabun Chunder Sircar Chowdry, Tarucknauth Mookerjea, Kissenkissore Ghose, Woopendra Mohun Tagore, Punna Laul Seal, Dwarkanauth Mullick, Brojobundo Mullick, Upendramohun Nundy, Dwarkanauth Biswas, Judoolaul Mullick, Rajendralaul Mitter, Kissory Chaund Mitter, Chundermohun Chatterjea, Chunder Coomar Chatterjea, Issurchunder Ghosaul, Annadopersaud Banerjea, Juggodanund Mookerjea, Ashootosh Chatterjea, Kaylash Chunder Deb, Koonjolaul Banerjea, Bhowbany Churn Nundy, Dr. Mohendrolaul Sircar, Kallymohun Doss, Mohendrolaul Shome, Buddun Chunder Dey, Girish Chunder Ghose, Debendro Dutt, Shumbhoo Chunder Mookerjea, Persaud Doss Dutt, Amrendranauth Chatterjea, Grish Chunder Doss, Pearymohun Mookerjea, Neemchand Roy Chowdry,

Callycoomar Doss, Callychunder Roy Chowdry, Shamasunkur Roy Chowdry, Hurrykissore Acharjee Chowdry, Mr. S. Hogg, Mr. Davis, Major Graham, Rev. Dr. Mitchell, Rev. Mr. Long, Dr. Robson, &c.

Rajah Norendro Krishna moved that Baboo Romanauth Tagore take the chair.

The Chairman then requested Baboo Kristodoss Paul to read the Requisition, which runs as follows:

"The Government of India having lately mooted the question of levying a cess upon the landed classes in Bengal, for the promotion of vernacular education among the masses, and for the construction of roads, the Government of Bengal has requested the British Indian Association for an expression of opinion as to "the most practicable and equitable means of assessing such a tax, and the most economical and least vexatious mode of collecting it. The Government of Bengal in its letter, dated 13th May last, remarks:—

"Obviously, the only equitable mode of levying the tax will be to impose it on the actual profits which are now drawn from the land, and to distribute its incidence in proportion to the share of those profits which is derived by the possessors of every beneficial interest in the land, whether he be zemindar, lakherajdar, putneedar, farmer, holder of an intermediate tenure of any description, or actual cultivator, occupying his land without paying rent at the full market rate of the present day, that is, at any rate of rent short of that which would be demanded for it from a tenant-at-will."

As the question is likely to affect all classes of the population having any interest in the land other than that of a tenant-at-will the Committee of the British Indian Association have resolved to take the general sense of the community before replying to the letter of the Government. They accordingly hereby convene a public meeting of the community interested in

the land at the Hall of the Association. No. 1, Larkin's Lane, on Wednesday, the 2nd September, 1868, at 4 P. M., for the expression of their opinion on the subject."

The Chairman said, "the gentlemen present had doubtless heard of the death of an esteemed member of his family, which had affected him so much that he was not in a fit condition to do justice to the honor conferred upon him. He would however do his best, and if he could he would claim their indulgence."

Baboo Kristodoss Paul then intimated that he had received letters from several gentlemen in the Moffussil and in the Town, expressing their regret for their inability to attend the meeting and stating their objections to the proposed cess. The following letters were then read.

From Rajah Suttshurn Ghosaul Bahadoor C. S. I. of Bhookoylas :

To

BABOO JOTEENDRO MOHUN TAGORE,

Honorary Secretary to the British Indian Association.

DEAR SIR,—With reference to the Public Meeting convened by you at 4 P. M. to-morrow the 2nd instant at the Hall of the British Indian Association, to consider the subject of Education and Road cess which the Government proposes to impose upon all landholders, I regret to state that ill-health prevents me from attending the meeting and taking any active part in it, but I have no hesitation to state that the proposed cess of 2 per cent. on Government land Revenue in permanently settled Estates will be an infringement of the rights of Zemindars of such estates. The imposition of the Income Tax might be cited as an instance when the solemn pledge of Government with Zemindars of the permanently settled Estates was violated, but that was at a time of emergency; in the present case no such plea could reasonably be assigned, consequently we should strenuously oppose the levying of such an imposition.

As regards the Education of the masses I can venture to say that the Zemindars are not behindhand in bearing certain portion of the expenditure with Government where the people express their willingness to have such institutions, consequently I am afraid it will be too

premature to impose any cess for the advantage of a few at the sacrfiice of a greater number, and at this moment while people have commenced to appreciate the advantages of Education and are exerting themselves to establish and support Educational institutions for their poorer neighbours by voluntary contributions it will be a matter of regret if any action be taken by Government to impede this much desired progress.

Regarding the Road cess I beg to observe that local taxes such as Ferry Fund, District and other Municipal taxes and private contributions are sufficient to meet the local necessities for the present and any imposition on this head is also inexpedient and impolitic.

With these few observations I beg to leave the matter entirely into the hands of the meeting for discussion and adoption of such measures as will be deemed advisable.

In conclusion allow me to request the favor of your bringing this my view to the notice of the meeting.

I remain,
DEAR SIR,
Yours faithfully
SUTTSHURN GHOSAUL.

Chundernagore, the 1st September 1868.

From Rajah Kalikrishna Bahadoor of Shobhabazar :

To.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY TO THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

SIR,—I regret exceedingly that owing to ill-health I cannot attend the public meeting convened for this afternoon for the consideration of the proposition of the Government for the levy of a cess on the land for the promotion of Vernacular education among the masses and for the construction of roads.

I fully appreciate the b enevolent objects of the Government, but I am not prepared to admit that a compulsory tax is necessary for the furtherance of those objects. The annual reports of Public Instruction in this province show that the wealthy and educated classes are by no means backward in promoting the education of the masses, and that the only cause of regret is the smallness of the imperial grant to Bengal for education compared to the large revenue it yields.

As for local roads diverse local funds are raised for that purpose, and a fresh tax is therefore quite unnecessary. I must again say that Bengal does not get a fair share of the imperial revenues for the improvement of its roads and communications.

I need hardly observe that a cess on the land for education and roads would be a direct infringement of the Permanent Settlement. It is certainly the duty of all classes of the community interested in the land to submit to the Government their respectful remonstrance against any encroachment on what I may call their Magna Charta, and I cannot believe that the Government, which is justly jealous of its high character for good faith, will turn a deaf ear to their appeal.

I shall feel obliged if you will have the goodness to submit my views to the meeting.

Yours faithfully,
RAJAH KALI KRISHNA BAHADOOR.

The 2nd September, 1868.

From Baboo Chucken Laul Roy of Chuckdigee:

No. 228

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARY TO THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 13th May last I have the honor to state as follows:

I consider the plan of raising an educational tax in Bengal similar to that now paid in the permanently settled districts of the N. W. Provinces to be neither expedient nor feasible.

The question of the possibility of the measure has I presume refers only to suggested voluntary taxation. Of course if a law were passed adding two per cent. to the revenue now derived from each estate, the increase would necessarily be paid as regularly as the present land revenue.

As to the expediency of levying the tax from the landholders like myself by legal enactment I hold that a tax of this nature would under all circumstances be an infringement of the permanent settlement as it would be simply adding to land revenue now paid by me because I am a landholder while the rest went free.

Again I cannot see that the burden of the support of vernacular education should fall on landholders like myself more than others " say wealthy

bankers or holders of Government papers" the well-to-do members of the community. The latter are in fact at least as likely as the former benefitted by the spread of education and are quite as well able to bear a share in the expense.

Moreover it seems to me it would be unfair with reference to the unequal way in which the land revenue none bear, to take such revenue and not the actual profits of the estate as the basis of the tax.

Educational progress has of late years been made and is now being made in Bengal and the lower classes are gradually though slowly being reached. No year passes in which new schools are not established by the liberality of natives and many more gentlemen would I feel sure be willing to assist if properly and judiciously applied to by the local educational authorities of if due notice were taken by Government and such display of public spirit.

I have the honor to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant
CHUCKEN LALL ROY.

Chuckdighee, the 1st September 1868.

A letter in Bengalee from Baboo Soorjeepersaud Acharjea Chowdry of Mooktagacha was also read. A Note in Bengalee was also put in by Baboo Chunder Kant Roy Chowdry of Bursia Bahala. Letters from several other Zemindars were also laid on the table.

The Chairman then addressed the meeting to the following effect: He said it was very pleasing to him to see the meeting so numerously attended by all classes of the community, this fact disproved the assertion that patriotism was unknown to his countrymen. He trusted the day would soon come when his countrymen would pay more attention to questions of public importance instead of wasting their time upon caste movements, which only retarded the social and moral progress of the people. He would briefly state the objects for which the meeting had been called. On or about the 20th May last the British Indian Association had received a letter from the Government of Bengal, enclosing one from the Government of India, in which

His Excellency proposed to levy a cess of two per cent. upon landed property in Bengal, for the purpose of defraying expenses of vernacular education for the masses, and for the construction of roads. In his letter His Excellency stated that if this cess were imposed it would not be an infringement of the Permanent Settlement. With all submission to His Excellency he (the Chairman) must confess that he entertained a different opinion, and in confirmation of his view he would read to the meeting a few sections from Regulation I. of 1793, which were as follows :

" Section III.—The Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Governor-General in Council, now notifies to all zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land paying revenue to Government, in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, that he has been empowered by the Hon'ble Court of Directors for the affairs of the East India Company, to declare the jumma which has been or may be assessed upon their lands under the regulations abovementioned, fixed for ever.

" Section IV.—The Governor-General in Council accordingly declares to the zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land, with or on behalf of whom a settlement has been concluded under the regulations abovementioned, that at the expiration of the term of the settlement no alteration will be made in the assessment which they have respectively engaged to pay, but that they, and their heirs, and lawful successors, will be allowed to hold their estates as such assessment for ever."

" Section VII.—The Governor-General in Council trusts that the proprietors of land, sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands, under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and industry, and that no demand will ever be made upon them, or their heirs, or successors, by the present, or any

future Government, for any augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates."

By way of confirmation of his views he (the Chairman) read extracts from some of the minutes of the authors of the Permanent Settlement. Lord Cornwallis in his minute dated the 18th September 1789 said as follows:

"I may safely assert that one-third of the Company's territory in Hindustan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts. Will a ten years' lease induce any proprietor to clear away that jungle, and encourage the ryots to come and cultivate his lands when at the end of the lease he must either submit to be taxed *ad libitum* for the newly cultivated lands or lose all hopes of deriving any benefit from his labours for which perhaps by that time he will hardly be repaid ?"

Again:

"This argument is founded on a supposition that when the zemindars are convinced that the demand of Government on their lands is fixed, they will adopt measures for the improvement of them, which they will not have recourse to so long as that demand is liable to occasional variation, and consequently strongly points out the expediency of a Permanent Settlement, and declaring to the landholders as soon as possible that the conclusion of a Permanent Settlement with them is the object of the Legislature in England as soon as it can be effected upon fair and equitable terms."

His Lordship in Council wrote to the Court of Directors under date the 6th March 1793 as follows:

"Varying the assessment on the lands is not the mode of carrying into practice the maxim that all subjects of a State ought to contribute to the public exigencies in proportion to their incomes." Again: "If at any future period the public exigencies should require an addition to your resources, you

must look for it in the increase of the general wealth and commerce of the country, and not in the augmentation of the tax upon the land." (Letter to Court of Directors, 6th March 1793.)

Mr. Law, Collector of Gya, had proposed the reservation of a power to Government to increase the demand upon the land in times of emergency Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, thus remarked in his minute dated the 8th December 1789 in reference to this suggestion:

"But the perpetuity of assessment is qualified by Mr. Law, by the introduction of a clause, that the proprietors of Mukururee tenures shall be subject to a proportion of general addition, when required by the exigency of Government. This qualification is in fact, subversion of the fundamental principle; for the exigencies not being defined, a Government may interpret the conditions according to its own sense of them; and the same reasons which suggest an addition to the assessment, may perpetuate the enhancement. The explanation given by Mr. Law to this objection is that temporary extraordinaries must have temporary resources, and even land at home is liable to a general tax during war; but the land tax in England does not bear a proportion of nine-tenths to the income of the proprietor."

"Notwithstanding the explanation, I shall consider the qualifying clause as either nugatory or pernicious and as standing in direct contradiction to the principle of a Mokururee settlement. The very term implies an unalterable assessment; and, if the explanation be founded on necessity, it is decisive against the perpetuity of it."

"I deem the proposition of Mokururee Settlement, subject to an increase upon an exigency, solecism; and that permanency must be given up, or the clause withdrawn."

Such was the opinion of the authors of the Permanent Settlement. Let us see what was the judicial construction of it. In the

official reports of the Decisions of the Sudder Dewanny Court for 1848 (page 460), he (the chairman) found the Judges Messrs. Tucker, Barlow, and Hawkins judicially declaring, "It is a narrow and contracted view to suppose, that, the Permanent Settlement consists in nothing more than the obligation on the part of the Zemindar to pay a certain amount of revenue annually to the Government. The settlement is a compact by which the Zemindar engages on his part to pay a fixed amount of revenue to the State; and the State on its part guarantees to the Zemindar, by means of its judicial and fiscal administration, the integrity of the assets from which that revenue is derived, and which in fact constitute the Government's own security for the realization of revenue." He (the chairman) would read one more extract. It occurred in a letter of Mr. Campbell, late Commissioner of Burdwan, and now a member of the Board of Revenue, an officer of great experience and judgment, in reference to the present question of Education Cess;—

"As to the *expediency* of levying the Tax from the Landholders by legal enactment I hold that a tax of this nature would under all the circumstances be an infringement of the Permanent Settlement (and therefore highly unjust and impolitic) as it would be simply adding to the land revenue now paid by a Landholder because he was a Landholder, while the rest of the community went free."

Thus it was clear that when the revenues were fixed for ever it was not contemplated to add one cowrie to the assessment. He (the Chairman) hoped that the meeting would now see that the proposed cess would be a direct infringement of the Permanent Settlement—a covenant which the Government was bound legally, morally, and constitutionally to maintain in its fullest integrity. With regard to the education of the ryots there could scarcely be two opinions; all landholders who were alive to their own interests should come forward, and give education to their tenants. But the question was whether the ryots, he meant

actual cultivators, were at present prepared to receive education. His (the Chairman's) experience was that they would sooner send their children to the fields to work than to the schools. If this cess were levied, and submitted to quietly, it would seem to the world that the landholders were unwilling to establish schools for the education of their ryots, and that the Government had been forced to take the matter into their own hands. This was not the case, for every sensible zemindar was aware of the advantages of education of his people, and numbers of schools had been established by them all over the country. Instead of a compulsory cess, it would be better that education should be given under the grant-in-aid system which had hitherto worked remarkably well. With regard to the subject of the construction of roads the people already contributed largely in the shape of local taxes such as tolls, ferry funds, chowkeedaree tax, municipal taxes, and would have again to pay Mr. Dampier's new tax, and if fresh taxes were still levied for roads, he did not know where they would stop. Apart from these local taxes there were the imperial revenues, which he was of opinion could not be applied to a better purpose than the opening up of roads and communications for the advancement of the material well-being of the people. If commerce were increased and the resources of the soil developed,—and roads were primarily necessary for that purpose—the people would be benefitted and the imperial exchequer enriched.

Rajah Narendra Krishna moved the first Resolution, which was as follows :—

"That this meeting, while recognizing the necessity and importance of popular education, is of opinion that the present voluntary system, seconded by grants-in-aid, which have given an unprecedented impetus to the progress of education of all classes in this province, is better calculated to accomplish the object in view than compulsory taxation."

Baboo Degumber Mittra in seconding the motion said: He believed it was not necessary for him to detain the meeting by attempting to prove that it was the duty as it was the interest of the community to promote by every legitimate means the moral and intellectual elevation of its members. That was accepted as a truism, and it would be a mere waste of time to dwell on it at length. Even in a low Benthamite utilitarian point of view the education of the people could not but be admitted as an absolute necessity for the welfare of the community. No man however fortified with material and mental advantages he may individually be, can with impunity be indifferent or apathetic to mental degradation around him, for, the, Baboo said, he doubted if the poison in the physical atmosphere of a locality could be more injurious to one living in it than that pervading its moral atmosphere. If this was true in the case of the individual it was equally so in that of the community, and what was true of the community it must necessarily be so of the Government, which commands the aggregate power and resources of that community It followed then that it was the sacred duty of every Government, be it aristocratic or republican or monarchical, which pretends to exist for the well-being of the governed, to promote by every means in its power the moral and intellectual advancement of those it has undertaken to rule. To say, the Babu continued, as I am sorry our Government has in a hasty moment said that it has never pledged to provide funds for the education of the people is nothing more or less than to abdicate one of its most important functions, and to declare that it has never undertaken to find means whereby to promote the well-being, the peace, and the happiness of the millions entrusted to its care. It would in the present day be a matter of surprize for any Government to make such a declaration, and more so for one which has pre-eminently distinguished itself by its paternal solicitude for those committed to its charge, and which by its benign and enlightened rule has triumphantly proved to the world that its mission under

Providence is to raise a fallen race and restore it to its true position amongst the civilised nations of the world. It is impossible, I repeat, Sir, that with such a glorious and self-imposed task before it, the Government which it is our privilege as it is our pride to call our own should fail to recognize what is the only means for its successful accomplishment. But the fact, Sir, is it has never done so. On the contrary from the days of the Marquis of Hastings the education of the people has been uniformly admitted both in words and deed as one of the most important duties which our rulers owe to the country, and whatever may have been said in a hasty moment I am sure no man can be more deeply sensible of this duty than the noble statesman who holds the helm of the State at the present moment. Even so late as 1859 that duty was acknowledged and impressed on the Government of India by Lord Stanley in these memorable words:—"that the task of providing the means of elementary vernacular education for those who are unable to procure for themselves is to be undertaken by the state." Again Sir John Peter Grant, another great statement when recommending his scheme of vernacular education said that he was "opposed to any attempt to impose any special cess for an educational purpose," adding, "by the present scheme the people pay for the chief cost of vernacular schools. The aid to be given by Government may fairly come from the general revenues." Thus, Sir, we find that whatever might have been said in the letter which has led to this meeting the State has not only affirmed the principle that it should undertake the task of educating the people but that the charge thereof should be borne by the general revenues of the country. The question for our consideration therefore is not so much whether the Govern ment should aid in the education of the people, but how that aid would be best directed towards the most successful development of popular education. I maintain, Sir, that that object will be better attained by the voluntary system which has been inaugurated by the

education charter of 1854 than by a compulsory one. In proof of this I have only to ask you to refer to the results attained in the North Western Provinces where this compulsory system has been in full swing for the last one and twenty years, and compare them with those of the voluntary system of Bengal. By a reference to the reports on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces I find that starting with 25 Anglo-Vernacular and 54 vernacular schools in 1855-56 the voluntary system had brought into existence in 1866-67, 403 Anglo-Vernacular Schools, 1932 vernacular schools for boys and 267 schools for girls, attended by 96,692 boys and girls. That is in about 11 years Anglo-Vernacular Schools have multiplied 16 fold and the Vernacular Schools 41 fold. *(Hear! Hear!.)* Let us turn now to the much vaunted compulsory system, and strange as it may appear, we find that in the course of one and twenty years with the whole energy of an active Government and the exertions of every fiscal officer enlisted on its side, the education of the masses has advanced only by 2 and one-fifth per cent. Would any thing condemn that system more emphatically than this? The fact may appear astounding, and some of you may feel incredulous, but, Sir, it is but too true. If you will permit me I shall prove it by reading an extract from a book that I now hold in my hand. It is a report lately submitted to Government by our able and indefatigable Inspector of Schools Baboo Bhoodeb Mookerjea, and gives a most vivid picture of the inelasticity and utter hollowness of the Hulkabundee schools. Adverting to the status of the pupils in the different Hulkabundee schools the Baboo says :—

" From the proportions (6·2 and 7·4 per cent.) which, in the above Table, the number of children attending school in the North-West and the Punjab bears respectively to the number of children of a school-going age, it may be inferred that the day is yet very far distant when mass education will have become indeed a fact, even in those districts where the most

strenuous exertions have been made with that view. The Government of the North-Western Provinces, in reviewing in 1845 the statistics of indigenous education, observed that in those Provinces 4 per cent. of the children of a school-going age attended the indigenous schools. The advance made in the space of 21 years does not then appear to be very considerable This will appear still more clearly if it be considered along with the circumstance which the census report, North-Western Provinces, or 1865 has brought to light, that the population of those parts has not increased, if indeed it has not actually diminished, since 1852, when the first census was taken. With a stationary population, and the means in the shape of a school cess at the disposal of the authorities, the education of the masses seems to have advanced by only 22 per cent. in the course of 21 years. Add to this the consideration that the rate of increase in the number of schools cannot continue to be as large as it has heretofore been, after the limits of the cess on which these schools are supported have been reached, and the task of educating the masses will appear to be very nearly a hopeless one."

Now, let us examine the financial results of the two systems. By referring to the same Report we find that in 1866-67, which Bengal contributed under the voluntary system Rs. 904,929 in fees and subscriptions, the compulsory system yielded only 297,720 in cess and possibly something more by a portion of Rs. 88,044 put down in the report under the head of endowments subscriptions &c. This shows that the voluntary aid in Bengal is three times better than compulsory cess in the North West. But this comparison favorable as it is, is not fair enough for Bengal. In the North West, the returns include all the indigenous schools which come under the influence of the Hulka circles, while in Bengal, the indigenous Patsalas, chatsalas, mucktubs, mots, and Sanskrit and Arabic Colleges are entirely left out of consideration. Of Patsalas alone accord-

ing to the Revd. Mr. Long's letter we have over thirty thousand, these at only 10 boys each, would represent the educational medium of over three lacs of boys, or more than five times the number taught in the whole of the North West Hulka Circles. At a low estimate the cost of a guru in each of these Patsalas may be taken at 5 Rs. a month or an annual expenditure of over eighteen lacs voluntarily increased by the people for education. That sum respresent six times the product of the obnoxious cess in the North-West. Add to it the expenses of the Sanskrit and Arabic Colleges and other indigenous educational institutions of the country, as well as the nine lacs which appear in the education report as the people's contribution to education, and you will find at least thirty lacs as the fruit of the voluntary system of Bengal. I challenge the most thoroughgoing upholder of the compulsory system to shew something approaching to this under their rule. It may be said that education given in the native Patsalas is not worth the name. It is of a very primitive description. I admit, but crude and elementary as it is, it supplies in some respects the wants of the pecple more effectually than the more ostentatious institutions of the country, certain it is that the Hulka standard of education is not a whit superior. There may be some geography and the name of geometry in some classes, but the simple and useful system of arithmetic and Zemindary accounts taught by the Gurus have not yet been rivalled. That system, Sir, has given to the Bengalees a pre-eminence as accountants in every part of India. It gave them the *open sesame* to every fiscal office under the Mahomedan rule, and under the British it is the Bengalee that is everywhere the custodian of the Journal and the Ledger. Whether it be the Collectorate Dewan, the Magistrate's Khazanchee or the Village Patwari, the Bengalee turns up in every part, and it is the arithmetic and the Zemindary accounts of the much abused Patsala that enables him to hold his own against heavy odds. Would that the reformed Patsalas and Hulka schools with

their Geography and reading books produced something equally useful! I must now turn to another and a most important element of the voluntary system—its moral influence. If any thing is more constantly dinned into our ears than another, it is our utter want of self-reliance, our constant cry to Jove to help us when we should ourselves put our own shoulders to the wheel. In season and out of season we are accused of always asking Government to do what we should do ourselves. What truth there may be in this charge it is not worth while now to enquire. Certain it is that the best way to cure the evil is not to deprive the people of all power of action but to train them to act for themselves, to induce them to take an active and intelligent interest in their affairs, to teach them that they should rely upon themselves most if they wish for the help of others. Much is said of the moral influence which the municipal institutions are to exert on the people in this direction, and make them alive to their political interests. The voluntary educational system does this and a great deal more, and on that ground, Sir, I hold it pre-eminently superior to a compulsory one, and I have every reason to believe that every thinking man will support my opinion. I should say no more. I think I have been able to shew the superiority of our system to that of the North-West and that for the good of the community at large it should not be changed. It is true I am a Zemindar, but I would not object if an honest tax on Zemindars could be so imposed as equally and extensively to benefit the people, but knowing that while a compulsory cess on them would not yield any thing like a respectable sum for the purpose, it would create such a revulsion of feeling as would altogether dry the perennial and ever expansive source of voluntary contributions, that I cannot but offer my strongest opposition to the measure. Anyhow I think I have shewn that while under the compulsory system the education of the masses has advanced by only 2·2, per cent. in 21 years and in some places such as Muttra has already

come to a dead-lock, that under the voluntary system it has progressed almost in a geometrical ratio, and it is to supersede this vitally elastic and indefinitely expansive system, which lives on the sympathies of the people and acquires greater and greater vitality as it grows, by enlisting the care, attention, and affection of the community, one which calls forth the religious sentiment of man on its behalf and becomes a part of the domestic institution of the land, by one which cannot assimilate with our social constitution, which can exist but by the fiat of Government and on the hatred and curse of the people, a noxious and and morbid excrescence, which should not be allowed to approach a healthy body. Could any thing be more monstrously absurd than to urge us to such a choice? (*Loud Cheers.*)

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried.

Baboo Joykissen Mookerjea moved the second Resolution which runs as follows :—

"That, in the deliberate opinion of this meeting the proposed cess on the land for education and roads would be a direct infringement of a solemn covenant of Government confirmed by the British Parliament."

He stated that ill-health compelled him to claim the indulgence of the meeting, and asked them to allow his son to read a statement of a few facts which he had jotted down on the subject.

Baboo Peary Mohun Mookerjea then read the following statement :—The question which has been submitted for our opinion is not whether an educational cess should or should not be imposed, but the secondary one, *viz.*, what is the most practicable and equitable means of assessing such a tax, and the most economical and least vexatious mode of collecting it. As to the necessity and expediency of the imposition, the Government has held out the fiat of power which it considers itself justified

in holding out to a subject nation, disclaiming all discussion all arguments for and against the imposition, all appeals to reason and justice. Mr. Secretary Bayley's letter of the 25th April last states, with reference to the alleged obligation of Government to provide funds for popular education, "that the Governor-General in Council thinks that it is now desirable to declare distinctly, that this is a subject which in future the Government will not consent even to discuss;" and further on it is stated in the same letter that "the Governor-General in Council is decidedly of opinion that recourse should be had to legislation, and that a special tax should be imposed for these purposes upon the landholders of Bengal;" but I hope I express the sense of the meeting when I say that this is a subject in which we should, notwithstanding the determination of Government not to hear us, protest against the imposition of the proposed tax, as strongly as it lies in our humble power to do, and I confidently believe that our enlightened Government will, on a further consideration, see the inexpediency and injustice of the proposed imposition and hesitate to carry out a measure which is strenuously opposed by every section of the native community, which I am happy to see is strongly represented in this meeting.

Having watched the progress of education in Bengal since the days when the philanthropic endeavours of Hare, Duff, and Trevelyan first raised the dormant national mind to a sense of the benefits of education, the conviction has always forced itself into my mind that the material prosperity of the country has hitherto depended, and will depend for sometime at least, on the intellectual elevation of the middle and higher classes of the community, and I must confess I view with considerable disfavor any project which has for its aim the education of the masses, when the great majority of persons composing the higher classes have received very little, if any education at all. Such an attempt in the present state of the country would be pre-

mature, and is sure to end in failure and disappointment. The questions also arises whether there is among the lower classes of the community any real demand for a better system of education than what obtains among them at present, for it is well known to all who take any interest in their welfare that they are not altogether without any system of instruction, and whether the education which is now sought to be forced upon them would be appreciated, and would in any way better their condition. These are points, however, to which I simply allude, but as they have already been fully and ably discussed by the last speaker, I shall not dwell on them again, and I shall therefore confine myself to the question whether, admitting the necessity of making provision for the better education of the masses, the funds required for the purpose should be furnished by the State, or raised from any particular class or classes of the community. The Governor General in Council has declared that "the State have never undertaken to provide funds for the education of the mass of the people," but in denying the liability our rulers forget that the duty of a Government is not merely to afford protection against force and fraud, to watch over the safety of the lives and properties of individuals, but also to discharge the debt which an enlightened nation owes to a subject people, by diffusing among them the benefits of education, by elevating their intellectual and political status, and by training them to such duties and responsibilities as might ultimately qualify them to assume a prominent share in the administration of the country. Acting on this principle, successive Secretaries of State, Viceroys, and Members of Government have acknowledged the obligation of the State to provide funds for the education of the people, and have always generously sanctioned an adequate amount of State contribution for the purpose. No adverse circumstances have ever deterred the Government from the payment of its share of the expenses of education, and the State contribution has been regularly paid even amidst internal

turmoil, financial difficulties, and disastrous revolts. Although therefore, we may concede that the theory of the non-liability of Government on this score is correct in principle, the Government of India is not in a position to deny that it has from the commencement assumed the obligation on itself. The sums, however, which the Government has spent and is now spending for the purposes of education is not lost to the State. Even in a pecuniary point of view those sums are more than trebly repaid by the services of educated natives, which it commands in every department of the administration. Few need be reminded that for the sole purpose of excavating the Ganges Canal Government found it a much cheaper scheme to establish an Engineering College at Roorkee with a highly paid staff of professors, to entertain the temporary services of trained Engineers from England, and we can easily conceive what would have been the state of the finances, and what would have been the strength of the tie which links India to England, if all the posts which are now occupied by the whole staff of judicial and executive officers, of doctors, engineers, clerks, and assistants had to be filled and recruited by educated men brought out from England. Again, considering the amount of revenue which is contributed by us, and the amount expended for the administration of these provinces, may we not fairly ask that a portion of the surplus millions should be allotted to the purpose of the education of the people of these provinces, instead of the same being appropriated for the good government of Madras, Bombay, and the Punjab? It would be, after all, a refund to the people of an infinitessimal portion of the money which they contributed to the coffers of the State, if Government were to sanction an increase of 5 or 6 lacs of Rupees to the amount at present expended in Bengal for the purposes of education. It would then not be to rob Peter, if I might be permitted to use such a hard word to our well-meaning Government, to pay Paul as is done at present, but it would be providing an essential

article for the benefit of the already overtaxed Peter himself. While travelling in the North-West about two years ago I was struck at the immense improvements made in those provinces during the last 30 years, in the shape of good roads with rows of trees on both sides, canals, bungalows, and other public buildings. The improvements made in the Punjab are reputed to be still more splendid than those of the North-Western Provinces. To contrast these improvements to what has been done in Bengal, the earliest and richest patrimony of the present generation of Englishmen, will be to compare a flourishing country to a swampy province, where the marks of antiquated roads are gradually disappearing, where the rivers and khals which beneficent nature has provided for the irrigation and drainage, as well as for the internal navigation of the country, are being silted up in all directions, where the police stations, the sub-divisional buildings, and the court-houses of our country judges, the Moonsiffs, are little better than hovels, and where man and beast are perishing by numbers by epidemic and endemic diseases, arising chiefly, if not entirely, from the neglect of the sanitary provisions which the country so urgently requires. This miserable state of things has been brought about, not by the apathy of the landholders towards the people, but by the systematic indifference of public officers for more than half a century in allowing the rivers and khals to be in some cases partially, in others entirely silted up. In undertaking to protect the country from floods, the Government virtually resumed the responsibility of keeping clear the great drainage sources of the country. But, gentlemen, you will be surprised to hear that not a rupee has been laid out on this score by Government, while embankments after embankments have been abandoned by engineers to the extent of not less than 500 miles in the Hooghly and Burdwan districts. Again, the outlets and khals excavated by selfish zemindars and other individuals for the purposes of drainage and irrigation have similarly silted up in the effluxion

of time. Sub-division of property, and the consequent division of interests subsequent to the construction of those works, have made it impossible for any one or any number of zemindars to clear the channels. A simple law would remedy the latter evil, but our legislature appears to have no time to devote to such a paltry subject, while it finds leisure for framing, discussing, and revising laws for the prevention of the creaking of carriage wheels. The people have cried and are still crying for these grievances, but it seems there is nobody interested to listen to them. One must have a stony heart who cannot rejoice, while in the Upper Provinces and the Punjab, at the vast improvements there made for the convenience and well-being of his fellow-creatures, but I must be a hypocrite if I do not give expression to the feeling of indignation which every Bengalee and Beharite cannot help feeling that those improvements were achieved to a large extent by the taxes which the people of the lower provinces contribute by the sweat of their brow, and that they themselves are denied the same consideration for reasons best known to Government. It has been said that the people of the North-West and the Punjab pay separate tax for education and roads, but we need not remind our rulers that the proportion of the profits arising from land, which we pay to Government in the shape of revenue, much exceed the aggregate proportion of revenue and tax which our brethren of the Upper Provinces have to pay. In their case the *malikana* allowed to the landholder ranged from 20 to 25 per cent., whereas in Bengal it barely exceeded 9 per cent., so that where a Bengal Zemindar pays a revenue of Rs. 125, a landholder of the Upper Provinces pays a revenue of Rs. 98, and an education and road cess of Rs. 2. Had the revenue been assessed in these provinces of equally lenient tenor, or had the revenues of these provinces left no surplus after meeting the expenses of the administration, the people would have gladly raised among themselves sufficient funds to meet the increasing demand for education, but no

amount of argument, no amount of ingenious punning about words will convince us that a tax raised for an object which is connected with the well-being of the whole country, is distinct from revenue, and that the imposition of the former is necessary when there are surplus millions of the latter. Add to these considerations the loyalty of feeling and the consequent stability to the empire which the intellectual advancement of the people invariably generates and strengthens, and I fail to see what cogent reasons could be adduced in support of the allegation that the State is not bound to provide funds for the education of the people.

In proposing, however, the present measure, Government is not merely content with declaring itself free from any liability on the score of popular education, but it would at the same time trample down the vested rights of 40 millions of people. His Excellency in Council admits that with certain persons the measure in question "will have very much the appearance of the enhancement of the assessment imposed upon the land at the time of the permanent settlement," but His Excellency in Council characterises them as "persons who are not well acquainted with the true state of the case." Now, gentlemen, what is the true state of the case? I shall attempt to give you a vivid description of the country as it was at the time of the permanent settlement. I shall not recount to you the names of the host of eminent persons who, entrusted with high functions in the administration of the country, at the time believed that the stability of the empire and the continuance of the British rule in India depended upon that measure. I shall content myself with asking you to recall to your minds the condition of the country at the time with its dense jungles and its extensive wastes, with the Government threatened with hostilities on all sides on the part of native princes and dependant chiefs, and with the public credit at the lowest ebb, and to say how critical must have been the position of Government if its

evenues were at the time left precarious, and subject to the capricious chances of dearth and inundation. It was therefore more with a view to benefit the State rather than the landholders that the Permanent Settlement was made, and it is well known to all who take any interest in the matter that the terms on which the settlement was concluded were any thing but advantageous to the landholders. The most careful enquiry was made as to the exact area of the lands in the possession of each landholder; the most scrutinising search was instituted as to the actual amount of the collections of rent, and after all this search and scrutiny the only share of the profits that was allowed to the zemindar avowedly with the object that he might simply maintain himself thereby, was one-eleventh of the net collections, while the remaining ten-elevenths were declared to be the share of the public. Surely never there was or has been the Government demand in the profits of land more exorbitant, and more calculated to prove ruinous to the landholding classes. The persistency with which Mr. Knight, the cavalier Editor of the *Times of India*, has been maintaining that the public assessment of these provinces per square mile is lower than that of Bombay, would have carried some weight with his figures had not the sophistry which pervades his arguments been patent on the face of them. He has lost sight altogether of the waste lands and *lakhraj* grants of Bengal, placed side by side the rate of revenue assessed on a square mile of Bengal 75 years ago, with that of a similar area in Bombay assessed 7 or 8 years ago. If he had compared the rate of rent realised from Bombay 75 years ago, he would have been struck at the exorbitant rate of revenue wich was assessed in Bengal. Coupled with this the natural calamities in the shape of drought and inundation, to which the country has been all along periodically subject, and you will have a pretty correct idea of the heavy responsibility which the landholders of 1790 took upon themselves. But though the responsibility was great,

the law for the realization of revenue was not therefore the less severe. The default in the payment of so much as ¾ of a month's *kist* made the defaulting landholder liable to imprisonment, which extended to one year, and a subsequent law enacted that on the sale of an estate for arrears of revenue, the surplus proceeds after satisfying the public demand should be at the disposal of Government. It is not to be wondered that under such a state of the country and of the law, the zemindars were exposed to the greatest oppression at the hands of the Collectors of Revenue, and we find Lord Cornwallis himself admit in a minute, recorded in 1793 that "the Government was obliged to shut its eyes as to what passed in the collection of revenue, and to tolerate what it was not prepared to remedy." These severities brought two-thirds of the estates in Bengal to the hammer, and the severance of estates from the ancient families was so great that I believe except a dozen old families in Bengal and Behar, such as the Rajahs of Burdwan, the Natore family, and a few zemindars of Behar the present generation of zemindars and talookdars may be said to have risen from the ranks, if I may so use the term. Except the few families which have held estates from before the permanent settlement, the zemindars who at present own the largest estates in Bengal such as the Tagore family, the Bhookoylas Rajahs, Baboo Pran Nath Chowdry, the heirs of the late Baboo Ramrutton Roy, Baboo Bamundoss Mookerjea of Oola, Baboo Gudadhur Tewary of Burdwan, the Sings of Beerbhoom, the Khans of Midnapore, Baboo Dhunput Sing Roy Bahadoor, the heirs of the late Rajah Protabchunder Sing, the Teli Zemindars of Baharbunda, at present so well represented by Ranee Surno Moyee, are all persons who themselves or whose ancestors purchased the estates at sales for arrears of revenue, with the capital which they had accumulated by service, trade, commerce, or other industry. Indeed, the value of landed property fell to such a discount soon after the

permanent settlement, that many a large estate, such as Mundleghat in the Hooghly district, with a revenue of two and a quarter lacs of Rupees, fell into the hands of Government for want of purchasers. Government was alarmed at the large number of sales, and laws after laws were enacted for giving facility to landholders in the collection of revenue, and there was no end of writing, minuting, and enquiry in all directions with a view to secure the realization of the revenue that had been so disproportionately imposed on the lands in these provinces. The generation of zemindars who succeeded the landholders of 1790 had to pay large sums in the first instance in the purchase of estates, and afterwards laid out immense capital in excavating *khals* and tanks, making roads and embankments, cutting jungles and founding villages. It would be tedious to go over the long list of persons who, in the midst of the most depressing circumstances, have, by their energy and by the expenditure of capital which they had accumulated in other branches of industry, brought the swampy plains and jungles of Bengal to their present condition. The fact cannot be gainsaid even by those who consider the permanent settlement as a grand mistake—a great blot on the administration of Lord Cornwallis. "Many people," said Mr. John Shore in his characteristic way, "actually lament the permanent settlement in Bengal, and some have really proposed to infringe upon it as if it were intolerable to see a native in good circumstances. They point to the improved state of the lands and sigh over the revenue which is lost to Government. But they forget to enquire how much of the improvement would have been effected had the rack-rent system been followed." The cause then of the material prosperity of Bengal is the permanent settlement of its land revenue, and we find the projectors of the settlement so fully convinced of its efficiency in securing the easy and punctual collection of revenue, the encouragement to industry and agriculture, and the general

improvement of the country that they took the greatest care to ensure its permanency. The different minutes recorded by Lord Cornwallis and other Members of Government who co-operated in his administration and the language and spirit of the early Regulations, contained repeated assurances of the permanency of fundamental principles promulgated by the settlement, *viz.*, that the property in the soil is vested in the land-holders, and that the revenue payable to Government from each estate is fixed for ever. It is, however, said that the law, Section VIII., Act VII. enacts that " the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may think it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection of the dependant talook dars, ryots and other cultivators of the soil," and it is thence argued that the legislature has reserved to itself the power of enacting any laws for the welfare of the ryots; but it requires no great argumentative power or force of language to prove that such laws can only be enacted consistently with the rights and privileges conferred on the zemindars by the permanent settlement, and that any measure which might even in the slightest degree interfere with such rights would be a violation of the solemn faith on which the settlement with the zemindars was based. I shall quote a single instance to show the strict principle on which the settlement was concluded by the statesmen of 1790. Before the settlement was actually concluded, and while the opinions of different grades of Government officers on the expediency of the measure were being canvassed, Mr. Law, the Collector of Shahabad, suggested that a condition should be embodied in the settlement to the effect that the public demand might be increased on certain State exigencies, but the suggestion was very properly rejected, and Mr. Shore, whom I have once before quoted, referring to it, said,—" This qualification is in fact a subversion of the fundamental principle; for the exigencies not being defined a Government may interpret the conditions according to its own sense of them, and the same reasons which

suggest an addition to the assessment may perpetuate the enhancement." The language of the law is still more clear. Section VII. Article VI. of Regulation I. of 1793 enacts that "the proprietors of land sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good government and industry, and that no demand will be made upon them or their heirs or successors by the present or any future Government for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates." These assurances were emphatically repeated when Regulation II. of 1819 for the resumption of rent-free and unassessed lands was passed. Again, when the canoongoes in 1824 or 1825 created alarm amongst the landholders, the Government of Lord Amherst issued the celebrated proclamation declaring that the appointments were made solely to record existing rights, and not to add anything to the revenues assessable from the zemindars. The Governments in those days were so jealous of their honour that on the slightest appearance of any suspicion on the part of the people, immediate steps were taken to assure them of the right intention of Government to maintain the faith of the permanent settlement. In the face of all these assurances, the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that all arguments against the imposition of the proposed tax based on the rights conferred by permanent settlement are futile, and that "similar objections were made to the imposition of the income tax, and they are as groundless in the case as in the other." This position was attempted to be also maintained by the late Right Hon'ble James Wilson in his speech inaugurating the income tax, with the argument that the motive which Lord Cornwallis "had at heart" in carrying out the impolitic measure was not very clear, and that the measure rested for its authority on "an incidental expression of the Court of Directors." The Hon'ble Finance

Member admitted that the income tax was an indirect charge on the land, but doubted the obligation of Government to be bound down by the terms of a settlement which he deemed impolitic. His Excellency the Viceroy in Council, on the other hand, is of opinion that the imposition of the education cess would be no charge on land, but is at the same time anxious that the tax should be levied in such a manner as to give no cause for apprehension that it would be an infringement of the rights vested by the permanent settlement. The position taken by the two statesmen, although different from each other, are equally fallacious. The income tax, however, had one redeeming feature. In consequence of an unhallowed and suicidal revolt of the Sepoy Army, Government was reduced almost to the brink of insolvency, and public credit had suffered and in this State emergency the income tax was resorted to as a temporary measure directed to all classes of the people, and was therefore so far widely different from the education cess which has its object a measure of questionable good, and threatens to be a permanent tax on the landed classes exclusively. As to the arguments of the Supreme Government that the proposed tax is no infringement of the terms of the permanent settlement, one cannot but be at a loss to understand what is the meaning of an infringement of a contract, for there can be no denial of the fact that the permanent settlement is nothing but a contract. It is a charter of rights of perhaps not so full and complete as the Magna Charta to the people of England ; but still to all intents and purposes it is a constitution equally valuable to the landholders of Bengal, and as solemnly guaranteed on the faith of the British Government. To our simple understanding if a contract is made to pay to one contracting party Rs. 100 a year, and after the lapse of nearly three quarters of a century Rs. 2 more is required from the other party, it is, in whatever light we may view it, an infringement of the contract. But the zemindars and talookdars are not the only parties who

will be wronged by the proposed cess: every ryot was assured when the constitution was granted that he shall hold his land according to the *nirik* of the village, and that he will be liable to pay no other demand save his rent, and the *lakhrajdar* was assured that on proof of certain titles, possessory as well as written, his lands shall always remain unassessed and untaxed. Not only the Zemindars and talookdars but all these various classes connected with land are threatened to be charged by legislation with an additional burden on their lands. I shall now, gentlemen, draw attention to another feature of the proposed taxation. I have said before that the majority of the present generation of zemindars and talookdars are a body of speculators who, from the capital accumulated in various branches of industry, have purchased estates, and with an eye to reproductive profits, have laid out immense sums for the improvement of their lands. To tax such people would be, to use the words of John Stuart Mill, to impose a penalty on people for having worked harder and saved more than their neighbours. Besides, such a tax would be a violation of one of the fundamental principles of taxation which has been universally recognised since the days of Adam Smith. The proposed cess is intended to be a permanent charge on land, but as remarked by the great thinker whom I have just quoted, it would fall exclusively on those who compose the landholding body at present. Future buyers would acquire land and securities at a reduction of price, equivalent to the peculiar tax, which tax they would, therefore, escape from paying, while original possessors would remain burdened with it even after parting with the property, since they would have sold their land or securities at a loss of value equivalent to the fee-simple of the tax. "That such a proposition," indignantly adds Mr. Mill, "should find any favor, is striking instance of the want of conscience in matters of taxation resulting from the absence of any fixed principles in the public mind, and of any indication of a sense of a justice on the subject in the general conduct of Government."

In whatever light we therefore view the subject, in connection with the permanent settlement, we cannot help coming to the conclusion that the proposed cess would be both inexpedient and unjust, and this infringement of a solemn covenant, ratified by the faith of the British nation, this sacrifice of a recognised principle, this depreciation of the value of landed property, and all their disaffection, discontent and sacrifice of law and justice, made not to meet the temporary expenses for defending the realm from foreign invasion, internal revolt, or any such calamity, but to force education on a class of people who do not at present require it, and who do not care to express their feelings of disfavor towards the schools and *patshallas* already existing for the purpose. This tax is to be raised from persons who have already done much, indeed as much as could be expected of them under the existing circumstances for the education of their countrymen. Their voluntary contributions in support of Government and aided schools already amount to about Rs. 4,9 ,0 0 as is seen from official records, and the sums spent by them in maintaining schools with their own exclusive funds, and in giving donations and subscriptions for the encouragement of Sanscrit literature and philosophy. The late much lamented Baboo P.C. Tagore, the Bhookoylas Rajahs, and a host of other landholders have made large endowments for the support of educational endowments, and I hope you will excuse the egotism, when I say that although my efforts in this direction have not been extraordinary, I would, like many others, be a gainer by a considerable figure if, instead of what I annually spend at present in the cause of education, a tax of 2 per cent. be imposed on my income for the purpose. In opposing, therefore, the proposed educational cess I am not actuated by any motive of pecuniary loss or gain, but because the compulsory cess in question will materially jeopardize the political rights and privileges which have been guaranteed to us on the faith of the British nation.

Baboo Kissonkissore Ghose said :

GENTLEMEN.—In rising to second the Resolution which has been proposed by Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjea I must say that he has left very little for me to add thereto. Before, however, I make the few remarks I have to say in support of the Resolution. I must premise that I yield to no one in the appreciation of the advantages which has accrued to the country by the progress of education and in the desire to assist in the diffusion of that education in quarters where there is a demand for it, but I must confess that the time has not arrived when any successful movement might be made to educate the rural population of Bengal; nor are the people of the lower classes in a condition to send their sons to school without experiencing the services which they receive from them at present. The system of educating these classes has been in existence in the North-Western Provinces for some years, but I need only state to you my personal experience as a Zemindar holding estates in those provinces that the attempt has been a failure.

As for the Resolution I do not feel the slightest hesitation to say that a tax of the nature proposed will be a direct infringement of the covenant guaranteed by the Permanent Settlement. That Magna Charta of the landholders in this country, namely, Reg. I. of 1793 and many of the succeeding Regulations contain repeated assurances to the Zemindars that on no account will the revenue assessed on their estates at the time of the permanent settlement be ever altered by Government. Speaking for myself I am unable to subscribe to the opinion that the solemn compact of the State with the landed classes in these provinces will not be interfered with by the imposition of the proposed cess, whether it be for the construction of roads, for the diffusion of education or for other purposes. The imposition of the cess by a legal enactment would be, to all intents and purposes, an encroachment upon rights which were ratified by the British Parliament and respected by all who have from

time to time held the reins of Government for more than three quarters of a century. Gentlemen, I shall not detain you longer as there are several others who are to follow me. I conclude therefore by cordially seconding the Resolution.

Baboo Ashotosh Chatterjea said :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—Though not a public speaker I rise to support the Resolution because I am strongly persuaded that the proposed education cess would be a direct infringement of the Permanent Settlement. At the outset I however beg to be understood that I am not opposed to popular education. I long to see the light of Education diffused all over the country from the man of the highest order down to the man of the lowest class, for education has made me what I am, has taught me to think, to appreciate the privileges and immunities bestowed upon us by our Government, and even to point out its errors. I admit that the cry of popular education is very tempting, and one is likely to be branded as illiberal when he opposes a tax having for its object the furtherance of such a noble end, but if you examine the proposition closely you will find that it is a mere garb or mask, under cover of which it is sought to break through the solemn covenant of the Permanent Settlement, which has tended so much to bring about the present state of prosperity in this province. If this cess were allowed to be levied on the profits derived from the land, it would, I as a lawyer can assure you, put an end to the fixity of the jummah. To-day it would be an education and road cess, to-morrow a poor cess, the next day an embankment cess, and so on until there would be no end of cesses on the profits derived from the land. I have heard it said that zemindars are tyrannical and oppressive, unmindful of the miserable condition of their ryots, selfish and prone to commit acts or rather omit to perform acts which may improve the condition of the masses material, mental, and moral. But this is too sweeping a charge. I admit there are bad zemindars, but that is no reason to denounce the

whole class. You have heard the Chairman read an extrac from the minute of Lord Cornwallis in which it was stated that one-third of Bengal was covered with jungle when the Permanent Settlement was concluded. Now, who has reclaimed the vast wilderness, induced ryots to settle thereon by holding out to them substantial considerations, planted new villages and towns, opened roads and tanks, and scattered over the land the blessings of prosperity? You cannot deny that it is the much abused Zemindar. Gentlemen, if you will recall to mind the financial position of Government when the settlement was concluded, you will not fail to perceive that it was really a bargain made. The State then bordered on insolvency, the annual, triennial, and quinquennial settlements did not bring in the revenue regularly, and a perpetual assessment was fixed as a stroke of masterly financial policy. The Jummah was fixed at a very high rate, it left only one-eleventh to the Zemindar, but the only compensatory condition was that he would be allowed to enjoy the fruits of his capital and labor, that not a cowry would be added to the assessment. Does it become an enlightened and Christian Government like ours to break its solemn promise and demand a share of the profits of the Zemindar which under the law belong to him alone? If this tax is proposed to be levied on the Zemindars on the supposition that they are selfish and inhuman, the charge as regards the whole class, is utterly groundless. They have established schools and dispensaries, opened roads and tanks, and feed the poor, and what does all this show? There are certainly close-fisted individuals among them, but such individuals are found in all classes of society. I beg however to remind you that but few of the original territorial lords, with whom the Permanent Settlement was concluded, are now in existence. They have mostly been sold out owing to the extremely heavy rate of assessment at which the settlement was concluded, and they have been succeeded by a class of land speculators. Any man who acquires money invests it in land for a

good return, and he naturally works in a purely mercantile spirit. Does the rice-merchant in time of scarcity lower the price though he knows that thousands of men must die for want of food on account of their inability to pay the high prices exacted by him, and yet nobody blames the rice-merchant? Neither political economy nor political morality finds fault with it, and why should the land speculator be blamed if he sought a good return for his investment? It does no small credit to the Zemindar that while seeking a return for his money he is not wanting in acts of kindness, humanity and liberality. If then the Zemindar stands in relation to land as the rice-merchant does in relation to the commodity he deals in, why should the former be singled out for taxation for the education of the masses? Now I ask what will be the immediate effectof the imposition of the proposed tax? The Zemindars and others who have intermediate interests in the land and who now chiefly support the schools and patsalas will it may be easily imagined at once discontinue their contributions. Will the produce of the tax be sufficient to meet the expenditure? I trow not. Then again why abandon the present elastic system of voluntary contributions for a coercive system of compulsory taxation? What a rapid improvement has been made by our countrymen in the several departments of knowledge within the last thirty years; and how has that been effected? Has that been effected by imposing a tax on the people? No, it is the effect of time. The right course has been pursued. The education commenced with the higher and middle classes and its blessings have been gradually descending to the lower classes. The higher classes having tasted the sweets of knowledge are not slow in imparting that boon to their brethren in humbler circumstances. They have been establishing schools and patshallas in their own native villages to impart education to the sons of the poor. No necessity therefore exists for the proposed tax. There is another thing to be borne in mind. Hindoo Society is divided

into a variety of castes, and each caste has an occupation of its own, and until this system was completely rent asunder, education could not be universal among the people. A Brahmin though poor will by birth resort to his books, a Khettry to arms, to Vysa to trade, and so on. English education has certainly effected a social revolution, but its effects are yet confined to a comparatively few. Long years must elapse before the same revolution is effected among the lower classes. In their present circumstances the masses find their respective occupations far more profitable than attendance at the school, and I am afraid this feeling cannot be easily conquered. Men must maintain their body before they can think of feeding their mind, and any one who knows anything of this country will admit that the material condition of the ryots is not such as to permit them to seek for the intellectual advancement of their children. Compulsory education would be a fitting a corollary of compulsory taxation, but is our Government prepared to force the ryot to send his boy to the school? So far as my experience goes I have seen *chasa* lads not more than six years old tend cattle and assist in the transplantation of paddy plants from one field to another. Will their parents consent to sacrifice this useful work for the sake of teaching them ক খ গ ঘ ঙ? Will they leave the means of their livelihood for the sake of that little knowledge, which the poet says, is dangerous, and which will not give them their daily rice? I had this forenoon a talk with one high in the Civil Service whose opinion on the present question was entitled to great weight and he remarked to me that the proposed cess was quite premature and that it would prove abortive. The condition of the masses in England said he was no better if not worse than that of the masses in this country. There too as soon as a boy is strong enough to work on the field or in the manufactory he is taken away from the school. The education he receives is thus of no practical significance. It would be sheer oppression to compel the ryot to send his son to the school when he would be

serviceable to him on the field. Thus all things considered the proposed education cess I am convinced is uncalled-for and inexpedient.

Baboo Amarendra Nauth Chatterjea said:

Sir,— I avail myself of this opportunity of saying a few words in continuation of the observations of my learned friend who has just sat down. I rejoice, exceedingly rejoice, to see the Hall crowded as it has been by gentlemen representing the varied interests of our community. All sections agree in condemning the Government measure as calculated to lead to results which, while specially bearing on the Zemindar as a particular class, would practically embrace all classes of the community having any interest in the land. Sir, I shall not repeat the sentiments of those who have gone before me, but I fear I may be betrayed into some repetition, which considering the circumstances under which we have met, and the vital importance of the subject, the meeting will not, I hope, consider to be wholly useless. The proposed cess for education and public works would imply or rather pre-suppose a state of things which, if true, would not redound to the credit of the higher classes of community. It would doubtless be a great, and I may say, it would be the greatest disgrace to us, if the imputation cast upon us were true, namely, that nothing has been done by the people themselves for the improvement of the country in the matter of education. Since the last few years the extension of schools in Lower Bengal, and the diffusion of education caused thereby, have been due no less to private liberality than to the exertions, which Government in its paternal solicitude for the well-being of the people have made in that behalf. Sir, this has been publicly acknowledged in Parliament. In the debate which followed the last financial statement of Sir Stafford Northcote the Right Honorable Mr. Samuel Laing, once a member of the Government of India observes thus on the subject: "The Government grants for educations had increased in five years

from £235,000 to £410,000; but besides this, he found from official returns, that the amount expended upon education from local and private sources other than grant from the State, had increased from £128,000 to £330,000,—that was to say, had increased nearly three-fold in five years, while there had been an increase of 66 per cent. in the number of scholars. The increase of intelligence was shewn in another way; the number of letters and newspapers sent through the Post Office had increased from 47,077,000 in 1861, to 59,931,000 in 1866. In fact, reviewing the career of India for the last six years, he knew no other country in the history of the world in which such a great material progress had been made." It would thus be manifest that whenever there has been a demand, the people have not failed to supply it. Looking at the state of the country and the history of education in these provinces, I entertain a well-founded belief that as the demand for education goes on increasing, it will be met by the voluntary assistance of the people. With the cheering results of education, therefore, before us, it would require a much stronger necessity than that shewn to us to justify the taxation under consideration.

Again, if a return were sent for by Government I have reasons to believe it will be found that a large proportion of those for whose behoof the cess in question is proposed to be levied are already receiving education, and perhaps a better education than that contemplated by the Government in their present scheme. In the papers published by the Government, I regret, no statistics have been furnished to support the position that the education of the lower classes has been entirely neglected, except that we are in substance told that this Government have determined upon taxing a particular well-defined class of the people for the purpose of educating another portion of the people not coming under any defined boundaries, but characterized by the vague generality of the lower classes; and also for the purpose of making roads. Adverting to the question of the construction of roads and

public works, the better opinion is that the expenses relating to them should be defrayed from the sources of the Imperial Revenue, inasmuch as they are imperial necessities. The advantages flowing from public works are shared in by the State as well as by all classes of the community. I am rather struck with the logic that one class of the people should be singled out to pay for benefits that will be enjoyed by the country at large. Sir, I fail to find any reasonable occasion for the proposed tax, a tax that militates against fundamental principles of the Permanent Settlement. This institution owing its origin to the financial embarrassment of the then Government has existed for more than three quarters of a century, and through good report and evil report, has produced the most beneficial results. (Hear, hear.) By the Permanent Settlement, the State lies under strict legal and moral obligation not to exact a farthing more from the Zemindars than the revenue stipulated for and declared to be fixed and unalterable for ever. This great measure of Lord Cornwallis' Government cannot be considered as a temporary expediency or as having been come to and arrived at in haste or without mature deliberation, I shall quote the observations of the Governor General himself in his own words from the Minute he recorded on the 3rd February, 1790.

"I trust, however," says the noble Lord, " that it cannot be imagined that I would recommend that the proposed Settlement should be made with a blind precipitation ; as without our having obtained all the useful information that, in my opinion, can be expected of the real state and value of the different districts. Twenty years have been employed in collecting information. In 1769, supervisors were appointed ; in 1770, provincial councils were established ; in 1772, a committee of circuit was deputed to make the settlement, armed with all the powers of the presidency. In 1776, Ameens were appointed to make a Hustabood of the country ; in 1781, the provincial Councils of Revenue were abolished, and Collectors were sent into the several districts, and

the General Council and management of the Revenues were lodged in a committee of revenue at Calcutta, under the immediate inspection of Government. Like our predecessors, we set out with seeking for new information; and we have now been three years in collecting it. Voluminous Reports have been transmitted by the several collectors on every point which was deemed of importance. The object of these various arrangements has been to obtain an accurate knowledge of the value of the lands, and the rules by which the Zemindars collect the rents from the Ryots."

Without enlarging upon the historical part of the subject, I have authorities to come to the conclusion that by the Permanent Settlement, the assessment established by it *viz.*, a tax of 90 per cent., on the income of the Zemindars derived from the land, was declared to be fixed. Section 7, Regulation I. of 1793 enacts that the "Governor General in Council trusts that the proprietors of land, sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever, will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and industry, and that no demands will ever be made upon them or their heirs or successors by the present or any future Government &c." Here a question arises, whether a Government of one period can bind future Governments. I must confess I do not understand the difficulty. The Permanent Settlement, I have no hesitation in asserting, and I am sorry we have to repeat it so often, is not simply an enactment in the ordinary legal sense of the term. It is a contract, a solemn and deliberate contract entered into by the supreme power in the State with a certain class of the people, which, I submit, the State for its credit for good faith amongst the subjects is bound by all ties of policy and equity to keep intact. The reservation—the only reservation in the contract was, that the State might, as the occasions should arise, enact laws and make provisions for the protection of the Ryots. Under color of this pretence of a reservation,

and under various pretences not always clearly seen, deliberate inroads have been made on the indefeasible rights assured by the Crown to the Zemindars. The Zemindary Dak contributions, the 12 years' right of occupancy, the 20 years' presumption in favor of fixity of rent—these are instances of infringement, more or less glaring, of the rights of the Zemindars;—instances of legislation by which the incomes of the Zemindars derived from the land have been considerably diminished—(Hear,hear). And now, Sir, the Government calls upon the Zemindars to pay for the education, whatever it be, of the lower classes, and the construction of roads. There is no pretence or suggestion of a State exigency, and the deliberate and solemn engagement of a Christian Government, ratified by the sanction of the British nation through their representatives in Parliament, is attempted to be broken through by a side-wind. (Loud Cheers.) Sir, this is nothing but paltering with the nation. I humbly, respectfully, and loyally hope this ill-considered Resolution of the Government will not be persisted in. I trust it will be consigned to that "limbo of abortions" which has been the fate of similar ill-judged and hastily conceived measures. A measure of such questionable political morality, I submit in all humility, will not add lustre to, but rather tarnish, the fame of Sir John Lawrence. At any rate it would not become the Christian Lieutenant of a Christian Sovereign, nor would it add laurels to the wreath which encircles the brow of the Saviour of the Punjab (Loud Cheers.)

The Resolution was put and carried.

Baboo Kissory Chand Mittra moved the third Resolution:

"That this meeting emphatically denies that, in the promotion of popular education, the landholders and the educated natives generally in this province are behind similar classes in the rest of the empire."

He conceived this resolution was a just, rational and emphatic protest against the unjust and the unreasoning cry that

had been raised against the zemindars, and the educated natives as men who had done nothing in the cause of popular education. He had no hesitation in declaring his conviction that the truth lay exactly in the other way. Far from having done nothing, they had done a great deal in furtherance of that cause. They had been foremost in organizing schools, literary societies, and newspapers, and in promoting and extending popular education in every possible way. Their exertions in this direction have been most indefatigable and laudable, and instead of evoking the obloquy of a clique deserved the lasting gratitude of the public. Since the day the old Hindoo College turned out the first batch of educated Hindoos the desire to disseminate the blessings of that education which they had received among their less fortunate countrymen, acquired a new and irresistible impulse. From the moment the zemindars discovered the value of education in others, they longed to place it within the reach of their fellow-count rymen. In a paper on the "Progress of Education in Bengal," which he had the privilege to read at a meeting at the Town Hall last year, he mentioned certain facts in connection with this subject which might interest the meeting. Here the speaker mentioned a number of schools, established by the alumni in the Hindoo College. Since the period indicated in this paper free schools, pay schools, and aided schools had endlessly multiplied. These were chiefly maintained by the zeal and munificence of zemindars and educated natives. Happening to be one of the Deputy Magistrates who were appointed soon after that office was created, he had been brought into intimate and familiar contact with landholders of all classes, European and native. He was therefore well able to bear his testimony to the valuable aid and support which he had received from them in reference to the improvement of the districts where he had been successively stationed, and which enabled him to establish schools, dispensaries and hospitals, in Rampore Bauleah, Nattore, Jehanabad, Ghatal, Chuckdigie, &c. Several of these institutions have been richly

endowed by the zemindars, and all of them were flourishing and bearing goodly fruits. He wished to put in a printed copy of the report of the opening of the "Prasononauth Academy" on the 24th January 1852, from which he craved permission to read one short extract which was as follows: "Impressed with these sentiments I hailed the establishment of the Prussunnonauth Academy as a harbinger of better days for Rajshahye. That an opulent and influential zemindar of this District should consecrate a portion of his resources to the maintenance and endowment of a school on such a large scale, affords a cheering and auspicious illustration of the growing conviction in this country, that those must hold the *mussal* who are to walk by its light. Happily, the patronage extended by native gentlemen to the cause of native education has ceased to be an uncommon event, but Baboo Prussunnonauth Roy has also entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the people of this district by another praiseworthy and public spirited act. I allude to the Nattore Road—towards the repairs of which he has contributed the whole expenses, amounting to, I believe, about (35,000) thirty-five thousand Rupees. He has thus set a noble example of enlightened liberality to other zemindars." These words pad emanated from the speaker (Baboo Kissory Chand) as he had the honor and pleasure of opening the school. In appreciation of the enlightened liberality of Prasononauth Roy, Government conferred on him the title of Rajah Bahadoor, but he did not live long to enjoy his title. His son, Coomar Promathanautha Roy attained his majority last November, and the first act of his majority was to undertake the building of commodious and *pucka* houses for the accommodation of the hospital and school endowed by his distinguished father. He had just received a letter from the Coomar P. N. Roy, regarding the cess which shows the estimation in which it is held by large and influential zemindars. "In my opinion," says the Coomar, "the levying of the educational cess on zemindars, &c., is a sheer infringement of the Permanent Settlement and

I protest against the imposition." I certainly agree with my young friend that the proposed cess would be an infraction of the Permanent Settlement ; a breach of the pledged word of Lord Cornwallis, who declared once and for ever that the Government demand on the land in Bengal is fixed for ever, but this part of the subject had been so fully dwelt upon that it did not call for any further observation from him at this moment. Suffice it to say that he agreed in every syllable that had been said by his friends who had proposed and seconded the preceding resolution. Since the time of Rajah Prosunonauth Roy hundreds of zemindars and educated natives had signalized themselves by establishing schools. To illustrate this position would be to cite the thousand and one schools with which the length and breadth of Bengal was studded. There was scarcely a station or sub-station which was without its school or dispensary. Whereas in 1855 and 1856, the year when the grant-in-aid system came into operation, the number of schools was 145, and the number of pupils attending them were thirteen thousand two hundred and twenty-nine, we find that in 1866-67 the number of schools increased to 2,907, and the number of pupils attending them was 1,21,108. These figures were a sufficient answer to the charge preferred against the zemindars and educated natives as non-educationists, a charge which he had no hesitation in pronouncing to be a fiction and a fabrication. (cheers.) (Here Dr. Murray Mitchellput a question to the speaker to the effect whether any thing had been effected by the zemindars and the educated natives for the education of the masses.) Baboo Kissory Chand Mittra in reply mentioned several schools where he had seen among the pupils the sons of *Chooter Mistress* and *Raj Mistress*, and declared that if these did not constitute the mass he knew not who did. He held in his hand a Bengali letter from Sreemutty Rajesshuri Deby, widow of his lamented friend, Sharoda Prosaud Roy, zemindar of Chukdigee, in Zillah Burdwan, informing him that the aided school founded by her husband had

just been converted in to a free school in conformity with the provisions of his Will, and for the purpose of bringing education within the reach of the masses. Baboo Sharoda Prosaud had died only a few months ago in the hey-day of manhood, but sometime before his death he had made a Will bequeathing the bulk of his funded property to the endowment of a free school, hospital, and an asylum for the aged poor. So zemindars were not so deficient in sympathy for their poorer countrymen as was supposed in certain quarters nor were they after all so black as they were painted. In truth no person of position and education would wish to perpetuate the present degradation of the peasantry. Knowledge was not only power. It was safety, whereas ignorance was a source of weakness and danger to the State. He was convinced that the moral and intellectual enlightenment of the people could not be effected without additional security being thereby afforded against delusions such as those which shook in 1857 the empire to its foundations. It had been so ordained by the beneficent Author of our being that the development of the mental faculties with which He had endowed us could not be effected without dispersing those prejudices and errors which menaced the peace of society as well as of individuals. While He was for making direct efforts for instructing and elevating the masses He believed that one of the best ways of reaching them has through their natural leaders chiefs and superiors.' Dr. Murray Mitchell and others, who were all for the education of the masses, should recollect that the primary condition of popular education was the previous provision for the liberal education of those classes of the community who, from their position in life, were able and willing to devote themselves to study and to direct and control the instruction of the poor classes. It stood to lay, if not to missionary, reason, that the education of the upper ten thousand must precede "the humanization and civilization of the myriad millions of India. The lower strata of the social fabric must be permeated throughi

the higher strata. That the downward filtration had commenced was abundantly evidenced by the immense number of schools and patshallas already established since the despatch of the Court of Directors came into operation. But those who denounced the zemindars as enemies of popular education will not be satisfied with this increase. They would pull down, as the *Saturday Reviewer* would say, the old and set up the new Rome all in a day. They have not got the gift to wait, nor the foresight to perceive the result of the progress going on. Baboo Krissory Chand Mittra thus concluded. "Educate the upper and middle classes, and the lower classes will be instructed and elevated. Educate the upper and middle classes and the masses will be raised and regenerated." (Applause).

Dr. Murray Mitchell said he had come to the Meeting to listen, desiring neither to speak nor vote. He would still abstain from voting; but he would say a few words, with the permission of the meeting, on one or two points on which some misapprehension evidently existed. Some of the speakers had drawn a contrast between what they called the "lay view" of this question and the "Missionary view";—and it had been distinctly asserted that generally those who sought the education of the masses in the mode which the minute of His Excellency, the Viceroy prescribed, sought at the same time to do away with the existing English schools. In short it was believed that the education of the higher and middle classes was to be superseded by the education of the lower. That was a complete mistake. Who was absurd enough to wish to suppress English education? It had done immense good already; it was doing immense good; and it would, as it extended, do still more. Happily, it had such inherent vitality that it could not be suppressed; and it would flourish and extend even if the philanthropic efforts of Government were now to be directed mainly to the masses. So far, Dr. Mitchell said, the meeting seemed to entertain the same convictions as himself; he feared that on another point

there might be less sympathy with his views. It was accepted as a maxim in all the enlightened countries of the West that one of the most sacred duties of a Government was to see that the people, not merely the higher classes but *the* people, the masses—were educated. Education was the great question of the day. The conviction was growing that it must be made compulsory, in several countries it was so already. Even in England it was confessed that the masses had been shamefully neglected; and in the new Parliament they would see that this great question would be dealt with in right earnest. But he feared that what was accepted as an axiom in Europe and America was rejected by some gentlemen around him (Cries of "no, no! we quite agree with you.") He was delighted to hear it; the friends now present accepted then the principle which Lord Brougham had expressed in some such words as these—"when the people are not educated the whole fabric of society is built upon a quicksand." (Cries of "Yes! Yes!") When the masses were uninstructed, if public order continued, it was maintained only by the stern expression of despotism; but it cannot be maintained under such a Government as exists in India, a Government the excellence of which had this day been heartily acknowledged, even while they keenly criticized one portion of its proposed policy. (Hear, hear.) The happiness of men as individuals, and the well-being of Society as a whole, were thus intimately connected with the education of the people. No duty could be more obligatory on Government than to try to secure the education of the whole community well; but the principle or paradox had been this day boldly laid down that the best way to educate the lower classes was to devote all your strength to the education of the higher. But no, he appealed to history to show that for ages a lettered upper class might co-exist along with a lower class who were intellectually and morally degraded. If the masses in India were to be reached in this way, they could not be reached for centuries. It was idle to theorize,

—let them look again even at England as a proof of the slowness with which education filtered downwards. Let one or two things be done, either let it be boldly avowed that the masses were to remain for an indefinite period in their present degradation; or let special efforts be made on their behalf. Much had been said about the rapid multiplication of schools : but as yet, only one in three hundred and twenty-eight of the population was receiving education, when all Government schools and aided schools were taken into account. Should not this great reproach be rolled away? (Hear.) True, there were also the common *patsalahs*; but the miserable education given in them could not in this assembly of educated men, be referred to with much satisfaction. Dr. M. proceeded to say that Bengalees were justly proud of the intelligence of their race ; they boasted, and not perhaps without reason, of being the most intellectual of Indian races. But who were the Bengalees? Was it only the upper ten thousand or the sixty millions in Bengal? Just think what injustice was done to this race, capable, as all contended, of high improvement, by leaving all but a small fraction of their number in utter darkness. In other countries, when the masses were instructed, men of commanding energy and talent could rise even from the lowest ranks; and Society received the benefit of their powers. Here if a Newton or a Milton were born a ploughman, he must remain a ploughman. Divine Providence was impartial; and high capacities were as often bestowed on the Soodra as the Brahman; but man quenched the God-given fire. Let elementary instruction be open to all, and it would then be possibly, but not till then, for the man of rare natural gifts to assume the place and do the work which Providence intended. Dr. M. then said that he would hardly touch the question on which every speaker had said very strong things—namely, the question of the cess. It was a legal question whether the Government would be violating the Perpetual Settlement by imposing the cess: he was not a

lawyer, and therefore would take no part in the dispute. Would it not be better, instead of condemning the measure in such severe terms as illegal and unjust, to take means to have its legality fairly tested? Gentlemen who thought their rights invaded should try to defend themselves: but not by reiterated asseveration and denunciation. And further; if not in this way, then in what way was the money to be raised and the great work of the education of the people to be accomplished? That question should be answered. Dr. Mitchell concluded by thanking the meeting for the courteous attention with which they had listened to the expression of views differing considerably from their own.

Baboo Grish Chunder Ghose seconded the motion:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN.—I have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution just moved, and I have greater pleasure still in being able to say that I can second the Resolution honestly and conscientiously. I have invariably endeavoured to suit my actions to my conscience, and as unconnected with any party I have always been in a position to assert that which is right without favour and without fear. I can well say that my sympathies in the present question are with the ryot, at the same time that I am bound to declare that the Resolution which I have risen to second is supported by a large volume of facts. I hold in my hand, Sir, a Statement torn from the last Education Note of Mr. Howell, and I shall read from it figures by which I hope incontrovertibly to prove that the cause of education does not wave or flicker in Bengal. My excellent friend who seconded the first Resolution has already satisfactorily established the position that the voluntary system in these provinces has brought in three times the funds from private sources for educational requirements than a compulsory cess in the North-West has produced. The statement before me indicates that the private expenditure in Madras and Bombay on Education has been *nil* whilst more than 4 lacs of rupees are set down in the column against Bengal. This furnishes little proof indeed of the charge

that the educated Bengalee is indifferent to the cause of education. And the experience of every man who has visited the Districts of the Persidency with the eyes of an intelligent traveller will uphold me when I say that there is scarcely a village in which an educated native gentleman's fortune has been cast where a vigorous effort is not made to found an English or a higher vernacular school. The Director of Public Instruction, in fact, regrets that the demand for aid so constantly pressed upon him on the terms of the Education Despatch of 1854, cannot be met owing to the absence of funds by which the Government promise for supplementing local efforts for he establishment of schools by State assistance can be fulfilled.

The Government of Bengal itself declared not long ago that the success of the voluntary system had been thoroughly tested And I maintain that the test as far as it has been applied, has produced results which do not certainly militate against the efficacy of the system submitted to it. But although I am thus sanguine as to the existence of a firm desire in the country to expand the area and invigorate the substance of popular education I regret that a great proportion of the population of Bengal still remains without any education. In this respect indeed a comparison with Bombay, the NorthWest and the Punjab is injurious to the fair fame of this country. But the consolation is left to us that the character of education in Bengal is superior to that of any other part of India. I long anxiously however for the day when enthusiasts shall arise amongst us, practically undertaking the grand work of popular education and moving heaven and earth to accomplish the good end. Not long ago I was reading an account of the charities of Europe, I came across an institution in Hamburgh founded by a poor candidate, Dr. Wicherly. It is called the Rahue Hus and hundreds of young boys picked up from the streets are trained in it. When the noble founder of the institution first proposed the plan of such a school, he was laughed at. But he prayed to

heaven to send him funds and a clergymen gave him an assignment shortly after from a charitable bequest. The House was provided by a pious landholder. Thus armed, Dr. Wicherly selected a dozen of the worst urchins from the streets of Hamburgh. Their disposition and character may be inferred from the fact that one of them had been 92 times convicted of theft. The earnest philosopher took these juvenile demons to his bosom and ate with them and slept with them and imparted to them glimpses of the heaven which rested in his eye until they were so thoroughly reclaimed and broken to honest industry that when the good Doctor proposed to part with them in order to undertake the education of another dozen lads similarly picked up, they wept aloud and refused to separate. The Doctor gave them the option of building a house for themselves in the same compound and they so heartily admired his generosity that they undertook to build the house with their own hands, so that in a few weeks the residence was completed. When alas ! will the young men of Bengal, its earnest thinkers and pious reformers enter upon a career such as that of the poor German candidate of practical utility and heavenly love !

Great stress has been laid this evening upon the Permanent Settlement. I confess, my sympathies are not in that direction. The clergy of Rome once essayed to fix the earth, yet the verdict of the inquisition failed to arrest the progress of the Planet. My idea on the subject is peculiar, for the day that I find the permanent settlement standing in the way of national progress I shall not hesitate to spurn it with my feet, for no law of man can confine and cripple the laws of God. But in the case now under consideration it would be mischievous to incense the Zemindars with a breach of their magna charta whilst no substantial benefit wll accrue to the ryot. The cess will virtually have to be paid by the latter, so long as the enhancement law hangs in *terrorem* over his head and the Zemindar will justify himself for the exactions he shall make by urging that

as the Government had broken faith with him he was not bound to extend mercy towards his tenantry. If the Government was prepared to free the ryot from the enhancement law and give him a position independent of the Zemindar then only will education be a blessing to him, otherwise it will prove a bitter curse, a thing of perpetual torture, shewing him the heaven of the philosopher and the poet but chaining him to a vassalage more grinding than that of the helot.

There was another consideration in this case which deserved to be noticed. Many Zemindars, like Baboo Joy Kissen Mookerjea, have endowed Educational institutions at a great cost. It would be a crying injustice to subject them again to an education cess. These questions and many other like them, were exceedingly difficult of settlement. An inquisition will be at every door whilst the ryot will copiously bleed. I hope Government will seriously review such weighty matters before hastily committing itself to an impracticable and dangerous step.

Baboo Biprodass Banerjea said that before the Resolution was put to the vote he would move an amendment. He did not wish for the infringement of the Permanent Settlement or the assessment of the Zemindars for the education of the masses. If a permanency of tenures were given to the ryot, he would gladly pay an increased rent and that increase might be given partly to the Zemindar and partly paid into the general treasury for the benefit of the rural population. He himself was a ryot and paid a rupee a biga, he would be glad to pay Rs. 3, if a permanent tenure were given to him, and the amount should be distributed in this wise. To the Zemindar should be paid Rs. 2 in satisfaction of all his demands upon the land and to the Government one rupee for the defrayal of the expenses of education and other purposes for the good of the ryots. In that case there would be no infringement of the Permanent Settlement with the Zemindars, while the tenure of the ryot would be also made secure and permanent.

A gentleman remarked that that Zemindar would be a great fool who would not give a mockrurry lease to the ryot on his engaging to pay one hundred cent increased rent.

Baboo Kissory Chand Mitter said that this motion could not fairly come in as an amendment to the Resolution moved by himself. If the speaker wished he might bring it forward as a substantive Resolution.

Baboo Biprodass Banerjea said he hoped his amendment would not be rejected on technical grounds.

Baboo Kristodoss Paul remarked that he had a suggestion to make. What the mover of the amendment had proposed would not keep the Permanent Settlement intact. By far the better plan would be for the Government to buy up the Zemindaries capitalize the estates say at 20 years purchase, as was determined by Lord Canning for the redemption of estates, and thus kill the monsters which were said to be feeding upon the fat of the ryots. Then would the gordian knot of the Permanent Settlement be cut without injury to any body and without exposing the Government to the risk of breach of faith, and permanency of tenure could be conferred upon the tenantry. He was sure that the Zemindars themselves would not object to this arrangement, which would be both fair and equitable. (*Loud Cheers.*)

The mover of the amendment suffered his motion to drop and the original resolution was accordingly put to the vote and carried.

The Rev. Mr. Long said the meeting had admitted the necessity of popular education but did not point out the means. He wished the meeting would take this matter into consideration.

Baboo Kristodoss Paul said he was very glad that his friend Mr. Long had put that question. He did not intend to address the meeting, but would say a few words in reply. Mr. Long was doubtless aware that the imperial revenues of Bengal annually amounted to nearly 16 crores, and that its local charges to a

little more than five crores. If a fair deduction were made from the Customs and Opium receipts for the North West Provinces, and for a proportionate quota of Bengal to Imperial expenditure, there would still remain a surplus of about five crores. The people of Bengal were not unwilling to bear their legitimate share of public burdens, but was it reasonable, was it fair, was it just to tax them, when they showed such a large surplus? If they were on the wrong side of the account, they should certainly be taxed, but the Government had not yet shewn that. He (the speaker) was aware that there were certain public writers who would not give Bengal credit for the Opium revenue, but he hoped he had shewn satisfactorily elsewhere that their objection was altogether futile. He had seen it stated that the majority of the members of the Government of India were in favor of the federalization of the finances. He for one would rejoice at such a measure. Bengal would then be a decided gainer. Hitherto the hard earnings of Bengal, the fruits of so much labor and toil, had been spent chiefly upon newly annexed territories, which could not pay their way, but that gross injustice would be remedied if each province were made to provide for its own expenses after meeting the imperial quota. The friends of the ryot would prove true friends to him if they would unite and claim financial justice for Bengal. And if after a fair adjustment of accounts there should still remain a deficit, he was confident that his countrymen would not grumble to bear any new cesses that might be deemed absolutely necessary. (*Applause.*)

Baboo Kally Coomar Doss said that there seemed to be a grave misapprehension among some gentlemen present. They seemed to be under an impression that the meeting was opposed to popular education. Nothing of the kind. They all advocated popular education, and he could say for his educated countrymen that they had done so much by voluntary efforts that it would be a gross injustice to subject them to a compulsory

tax for that purpose.. If it was necessary another meeting might be held for the consideration of means.

Baboo Kristodoss Paul said that if by the word "means" Mr. Long meant a compulsory tax in some shape or other he could only say that the Revd. gentleman was aiming to destroy a system which was the corner-stone of the Education Despatch of 1854. In that Despatch it was declared that the grant-in-aid system having been attended with wonderful success in England was extended to India. The object was two-fold, 1stly to reduce the direct expenditure of the State on education and to expand the area of national education with the aid of the people, and 2ndly "to foster a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which was of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation." Of course this system has not proved successful in the other provinces, but in Bengal its success has been marvellous. Where there were in 1856 only 25 there were in 1866 403 Anglo-Vernacular schools and where there only 54 there were in that year 1932Vernaculars chools, and the schools would have multiplied still more if the Government had been true to its own promise and had sanctioned corresponding grants. It had been urged that these schools did not reach the masses. But who attended these 2000 Vernacular schools? The higher and middle classes would as a rule give English education to their boys, and the children attending the Vernacular schools *ipso facto* came from the lower strata. Of course much yet remained to be done, and would doubtless be done if the Government would second the present voluntary system with adequate liberality.

Baboo Issur Chunder Ghosaul said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—I shall not long trespass on your time and therefore will be as brief as possible in my address to you. The subjects of discussion that have drawn us here together this evening are of the most vital importance to

all of us without exception, and they are, 1st, the improvement of the people by extending education to the masses through the agency of the Government, 2nd, the improvement of the country by opening up of new roads throughout the Districts of the Bengal Government, and 3rd, the imposition of a new tax to meet the expenses that these proposed measures would necessarily entail on the Government.

I shall not dwell on the advantages likely to be derived by the community at large by the spread of education among all the classes on a system of compulsory taxation. I shall not also dwell on the mischief and injury that will accrue to these Provinces by adopting any measure of education that will in any way dwarf the spirit and counteract the self-action of the people, who have already successfully evolved the principle of voluntary education and have not yet rested in their glorious work. Neither shall I dwell on the material progress which these Provinces are likely to make through improved intercommunication in all its parts, though the existing roads throughout its vast surface remain almost unrepaired and uncared-for. Nor shall I dwell on the discredit and obloquy which the Government will surely heap on its own head in the presence of the whole civilized world by breaking through its thrice-guaranteed pledge to hold inviolate and sacred the terms of the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of these Provinces. These matters have been and will be more ably discussed by others who are better qualified to handle them than I can ever presume to do. I shall therefore draw your attention only to a single circumstance and that is shall we as a people who have largely imbibed English knowledge and ideas not prove to our teachers the value we attach to that knowledge and to those ideas by claiming from them by every constitutional means within our reach a share in the administration of the Finances of the country when with an overflowing revenue in these provinces new and unnecessary taxes are to be imposed upon the people ?

It is admitted by all who have ever paid the least attention to the subject that the Bengal Provinces containing the largest area and the richest soil and the most industrious and peaceful subjects of her Majesty in all India, is the most neglected by the Imperial Government, and to prove to you, if proof be needed, I shall read an extract from a letter which the Government of Sir John Peter Grant had addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the British Indian Association on the 17th December 1861.

"The Lieutenant Governor is sure that the Association is fully "alive to the crying wants of these provinces in roads, bridges, "canals, water-works, public buildings and public works of every "description ; and he thinks it probable that they have a general "knowledge that there is no part of India which is nearly so "backward in these respects as are the Bengal Provinces ; whilst "there is no other part of India which responds to any outlay "upon public works, great or small, so promptly, so surely, and "so effectively as these Provinces do, by reason of their great "natural resources. But perhaps it is not always borne in mind "that the provincial expenditure upon public works—petty "district works excepted—is limited by the supreme authority, "and that the allotment made to Bengal by that authority from "the general revenues, has always been, systematically less in an "excessive degree, (probably it would be safe to say by at least "two-thirds) than what an allotment would amount to should "that be framed on the principle of a share proportionate either "to the revenue or to the population or to the geographical "extent of the Bengal Provinces, or to all these together, as "compared with the other provinces of India. The result of this "system continued for a long series of years, has been such, in "a comparative view, as those only who have seen many different "parts of India or whose duties have made them cognizant of "what has been done from imperial funds for all parts of the "empire, severally, are thoroughly aware of. At the moment

" there is only one really good road of any considerable extent " complete in all Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Chota Nagpore, Assam, " Arracan and Cachar (which may be taken as one-third part of " British India) namely the Grand Trunk Road ; and it is not " too much to say that this single work would not have existed, " if it had not been, by geographical necessity an inseparable " part of the line through the North-West Provinces."

Now, gentlemen, can you tell me why this should be—why this neglect—this apathy from our Governor's ? I will let you know how it is by reading to you another extract from a letter which the present Government of Bengal addressed to that of India no later than the 29th February last, urging the claim of these Provinces to a fair share of funds from the General Revenues of the empire for the construction of feeder roads to the imperial system of Railways and not for the general improvel ment of the country and therefore demands your gravest attention.

" Although from the character of the people, Military roads may be less necessary in Bengal, than in the northern provinces of India, it seems to the Lieutenant Governor, that Government is not the less bound to maintain at the expense of the State a fair proportion of imperial roads throughout its districts for the promotion of trade and the convenience of the public."

Some people imagine that this unfriendly action on the part of the Government of India towards us is of late origin. You have heard mention made of the construction of a Grand Trunk Road from the capital to its North-West frontier from the genera- revenues of the empire, but this Grand Trunk was not opened till about the year 1835. Previous that period, all the military movements of the Government and the entire export and import trade of the Upper Provinces, were carried by another route which was constructed and partly maintained by the munifi- cence of a native princess—the celebrated Ahilla Bahee. This road started from our suburb of Sulkea and passed through the

rich agricultural and mining Districts of Hooghly, West Burdwan Manbhoom, and Hazareebaugh to Benares. But no sooner the Government extended the frontier to further west and found the quick movements of troops more necessary then through sheer military, urgency and not from any love to us they opened the Imperial Exchequer and constructed a chord line from Pulta Ghaut in Hooghly, carried it through Burdwan and joined the old Trunk Road at the Dhunwa Pass. Now mark the fate of the old main line. From that very year it was altogether neglected—it was completely abandoned. The repair expenses were transferred to the new road and the old one was utterly ruined and it remains for the most part in that neglected state up to this day.

Again early in the year 1857 when the system of " main line of Imperial Roads" first came under the consideration of the Supreme Government the principle on which " Imperial" and " Local" roads were to be classed was laid down in their letter dated the 17th April of that year. The question was furthermore fully discussed by the Government of India in the year 1860 in their letter dated the 12th September of that year to the address of the Government of the N. W. Provinces when it was distinctly ruled by the Government of India that " that Government must bear the expenses of all Railway Feeders except such as were mere roads of access connecting Railway stations with the road system of the country."

I shall now try to show to you how this double pledge given by the Government of India at different periods for the construction of the main line of " Imperial Roads" and of " Railway Feeders" from the general revenues of the empire has been redeemed by them as far as Bengal is concerned by reading extracts from the correspondence of the present Government of Bengal with that of India urging the claim of these Provinces to better consideration. The Government of Bengal in letter dated the 5th February last states:

"The principle thus laid down has unfortunately been acted upon in Bengal to a very inconsiderable extent, and the tendency of later years has been to restrict expenditure on roads from the general revenues, and, indeed, to press upon the local Governments to take every opportunity of relieving the State from charges of this description. It seems to the Lieutenant 'Governor, however, that special consideration is necessary to the case of Railway feeder roads, if it is desired that fresh roads of this class should continue to be made, and, indeed short of this to enable the Government to escape the discredit of allowing such road already constructed to fall into a state of disrepair.

"Many of the Feeder Roads are now complete, but some of them are still under construction, and others are necessary, which have not yet been commenced. When all have been completed, the yearly expense of their maintenance will amount to a very considerable sum. The traffic upon most of the Feeder Road is heavy, and it is absolutely necessary, if they are to be really efficient to keep them in a state of repair superior to that of most local Roads."

"At the time when most of the Feeder Roads were constructed, the Local Funds of Bengal were believed to be in a flourishing state. They were annually supplemented by large grants from the one percent. Income Tax Fund, which are not now received. Since that time also the collections on the Nuddea Rivers and on the Canals have yearly exhibited a falling-off, chiefly, as it is supposed in consequence of the diversion of traffic to the Railways through those very feeder roads which have been constructed from the surplus toll collections. The funds which it has lately been found possible to allot for the repair of the Feeder Roads, have been utterly insufficient, and these are certain to fall into very general disrepair unless some change be introduced. Nor has the amount of other Local Funds kept pace with the increased demand consequent on the general extension of local communications throughout Bengal. It seems to the Lieutenant Governor that

the considerations which in 1857 induced the Governor General in Council to recognise the principle that the advantages of the then imperial communications should not be confined to those favoured districts only which were intersected by the Grand Trunk Lines, and to determine on the coustruction of new lines of roads "to complete net works of imperial roads," apply exactly to the case of Railways and Railway Feeders. And, in addition, it may be remarked that expenditure on these roads adds directly to the Imperial revenue by increasing the traffic on the Railway lines; thus relieving Government from the payment of the guaranteed interest and in some cases enabling it to receive direct profit from the Railway company; in fact, these roads contribnte as directly to the Income of the Railway, as it they were branch lines. The Lieutenant Governor would therefore recommend that the Railway Feeder Roads, all of which either connect important places of commerce with the Railway or form connecting trunks between the Railway and Imperial Roads, should be maintained from Imperial Funds."

Now, gentlemen, I pray you to give your most serious attention to what the Government of India state in their letter dated the 17th March last in reply to these very just and considerate recommendations of the Government of Mr. Grey after having previously given their pledge as I have already shown to you:

"It is to be borne in mind that the means of the Government of India are limited, and the demand for feeder roads in all parts of the British Indian Empire is large. If the Government of India were to undertake all the feeder roads for the whole 5,000 miles of Railway completed or in course of construction, it would be quite beyond the capacity of the present revenue. And although Bengal has strong claims to a large share of the public works expenditure on account of its riches and population, it is on the other hand very lightly taxed in proportion to its riches and population, and is, therefore, the more capable of contributing increased local revenue.

In regard to the advantage of Railway feeders in increasing the traffic earnings of the Railway, and so saving guaranteed interest, it is to be marked that this argument applies less forcibly to Bengal than to other provinces. The traffic on the East Indian Railway has already been as much as the line could carry, and this it may be hoped will recur even when the chord-line is completed. On the average of the last three years, this charge for the *entire* main line of the East Indian Railway has hardly exceeded 12 lacs per annum. If allowance be made for the fact that the greater part of the traffic earnings are in Bengal, it will be seen that the charge for guaranteed interest for this Railway in Bengal is quite inconsiderable, if not nil. For the Eastern Bengal Railway the charge for the last three years has scarcely exceeded 2 lacs per annum. Thus, in Bengal the guaranteed interest on Railway capital has almost ceased to be a charge of any importance.

No doubt there would be advantage in adding to the Railway feeders, and so obtaining, if possible, excess profits over 5 per cent. in the repayment of interest previously advanced, but it is quite possible that an outlay might be incurred with this object which would be incommensurate with financial advantage to be derived. The state of the case has passed beyond the stage at which it can be said generally that all outlay on Railway feeders must be profitable. It is not necessary to enter into specific calculations for each case to show that there is reason in the individual case to expect a profit commensurate to the outlay. But there are doubtless other advantages to be considered irrespective of immediate profit in Railway earnings."

Now, gentlemen, I shall add a few remarks with regard to the statement made by the Government of India that we are very lightly taxed in proportion to our riches. It is a prejudice in those who think that by the terms of the Permanent Land Settlement our taxes have become light, and that we have risen in wealth in consequence thereof. I deny this. I maintain that

that settlement was a most exacting settlement at the time, and that in consequence many Zemindars were sold out of hearth and home because they could not realize the Government assessment. But the Permanent Settlement has done us this good—that it has given to us a *motive power* for exertions in developing our agricultural and industrial resources, and *to this more* than to the terms of the Permanent Settlement, I ascribe our riches such as they are, and they are not much.

Gentlemen, it is the bounden duty of every civilized Government to provide means of communication to their subjects from the general revenues of the country, and that of India I hold to be no exception to the rule. Besides, I have shewn to you how the Supreme Government is pledged to construct the "main line of Imperial Roads" "as well as Railway Feeders," throughout the country from the resources at their command. Therefore if the Government hold to its pledge and if the larger municipalities that are already in existence and the smaller unions that are or will be soon growing up in every direction, under Mr. Dampier's Act, fulfil their duties by constructing such roads within their respective circles as might be needed, where would be the necessity, I ask, for imposing the proposed Road cess on the agricultural population of the country?

In conclusion, gentlemen, I would again press on you to make a timely move for a share in the administration of your Finances, if you wish to prevent the lavish waste of money on the Public Works Department. Here is a notable instance of what I say, and I say this advisedly. It is a recognized principle in economy whether in families or in Governments that no new works should be undertaken until the old ones are placed in an efficient state, and in this view of the case and knowing the state of our roads and communications one would expect that the best part of the grant made by the Government should be devoted to those purposes. But how stands the fact? In a note on the expenditure on roads Bengal during the six years

1861-62 to 1866-67 inclusive" appended to Mr. Leonard's "note on the best means of raising funds for the construction and maintenance of Local Roads" I find in para. 3rd the following figures:

	Rs.
Imperial Funds.....	1,32,66,366
Local or District Road Fund	83,65,826
Income Tax Fund...	18,87,825
Total	2,35,20,017

Out of this sum only 75,93,002 Rupees were expended on the repair and improvement of the old roads, while no less a sum than 1,59,27,015 Rupees was expended on the construction of new ones. No wonder that roads constructed this year would be completely useless the next if such an unequal share be allotted to their repair and improvement. And yet gentlemen we are called upon to submit to a new tax for keeping up this wasteful system. There is another instance. In the 4th para. of the appendix to Mr. Leonard's note, you will find that "during the six years nearly 40 lacs of Rupees per annum, have been spent on roads and works connected therewith, exclusive of the cost of establishment," which amounted to about 44 lacs in addition. Forty-four lacs on establishment to supervise the expenditure of forty lacs per annum! Is not this sheer waste of money? What would a Court of Justice say to any manager of a private estate who brought it to ruin by such a course of expenditure? No individual or nation can stand such treatment. Disorganization is certain to follow it.

Gentlemen, with these observations I shall submit to you the Resolution with which I have been entrusted, *viz.*

"That it is the duty of the Government of every civilized country to improve the roads and communications for the promotion of the material well-being of the people, and that a

special road cess in addition to imperial and municipal taxes is inexpedient and uncalled-for."

Baboo Sarodaprosunno Mookerjea seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Baboo Sreegopaul Paul Choudry moved the following Resolution:

"That the Committee of the British Indian Association be requested to draw up and forward after obtaining signatures a Memorial to the Governor General in Council, praying for the consideration of the proposals for the imposition of an education and road cess."

Baboo Kasinauth Biswas seconded the motion which was put to the vote and carried.

It was understood that the European gentlemen present did not vote.

Kumar Suttyanund Ghosaul moved thanks to the chair, and the meeting broke up at 7½ P. M.

MONSTER MEETING AT THE TOWN HALL

ON THE

EDUCATION QUESTION.

PURSUANT to notice a public meeting of the inhabitants of Bengal was held at the Town Hall on Saturday the 2nd July at 3 P. M. for the purpose of considering the propriety of memorializing the Secretary of State on the subject of the proposed withdrawal of State aid from English education. More than two thousand persons were present, and all classes of the native community were represented on the occasion. On the motion of Baboo Rajacoomara Rai Choudhuri of Barripur, seconded by Cumara Girisachundra Singha of Paikpara, Babu Rumanatha Tagore, President of the British Indian Association, took the chair.

The following is a list of the Delegates from the Districts :

District or Place.	*Names of Delegates.*
1. Balasore	...Babu Brindabone Chunder Mundul.
2. Banĉoorah	... „ Upendro Chunder Mojoomdar.
3. Baraset	... „ Rajkristo Banerjea and „ Omrito Nauth Bose.
4. Barripore	... „ Raj Coomar Roy Chowdry.
5. Beerbhoom	... „ Dwarka Nauth Chuckerbutty.
6. Bickrampore	... „ Chunder Madub Ghose, B. L.
7. Berhampore	... „ Deno Nauth Gangooly.
8. Furreedpore	... „ Greejasunker Mojoomdar. „ Issur Chunder Chuckerbutty. „ Tara Nauth Chuckerbutty, M. A. „ Hurranauth Bhuttacharjea, M. A.

District or Place.		*Names of Delegates.*
9. Halleeshahur	„	Gopaul Chunder Banerjea.
10. Jessore (Town)	„	Bungshee Dhur Sein.
„ Amirta Bazar	„	Debendro Chunder Ghose, B. L.
11. Jungypore	„	Gour Soonder Chowdry.
12. Maunbhoom (Purulia).	„	Issur Chunder Ghosal.
13. Midnapore	„	Kartick Chunder Mittra, M. A.
14. Pubna	„	Hurrish Chunder Surmah.
15. Rajshaye	„	Jadub Chunder Sircar.
16. Krishnaghur	„	Jadoo Nauth Roy Bahadoor.
17. Santipore	„	Din Doyal Poramanick.

The Chairman in opening the business of the Meeting said :— Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for the honor you have done me by electing me your Chairman. I will do my best, and I trust I will gain your approbation. Gentlemen, the subject which will be discussed at this meeting is of great national importance, and I am sure all of you are as much alive to it as I am. I shall therefore not dwell much on the subject, but leave you to do what you think proper. However, let me tell you, gentlemen, that in sending your petition to England you should observe every moderation and be respectful in your language. If you do so I am quite sure the English nation will sympathise with you. When I say the English nation will sympathise with you. I mean lords, commoners, merchants tradespeople, and even the missionaries who create so much mischief and confusion in our families. (*Hear Hear and laughter.*) Gentlemen, I regret very much that the Government should think it advisable to withdraw aid from English education. I hope before they do so they will take into consideration the benefits which our country has already derived from English education. If that education had not been introduced, you would not have seen so many of my countrymen holding responsible situations in the State, and adorning different walks of life. I, therefore, sincerely and earnestly trust that the Government will not withdraw this boon. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, I have much pleasure in telling you that the people of the

Moffusil, both orthodox and educated, have evinced a lively interest in this meeting. They have sent delegates here to see the working of it, and I trust these delegates will be satisfied that we have done all we could to secure the interests of the public. Before concluding I must inform you that in the programme there are a several resolutions. It will take perhaps five or six hours to conclude the business, and I will, therefore, propose that the speakers will be as brief as possible so that the business of this evening may be terminated without the aid of lights or candles. *(Laughter.)* With these observations I leave you to do what you think best and proper. Before I resume my seat I will ask the Secretary to read the correspondence which he has received from the Moffusil on this subject. *(Applause.)*

Babu Kristodas Pal said that he had received a letter from no less a personage than the Maharajah of Burdwan, expressing his "unqualified sympathy with the object of the meeting," and "heartily wishing it success." He observed that the most gratifying feature in this movement was that it had found response throughout the country, and that meetings had been held in almost all the districts of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Assam. He held in his hands the proceedings of forty-three district meetings, and had much pleasure in introducing Delegates deputed from 17 districts. He also read two telegrams, one from Gowalparah, Assam, and the other from Dacca, announcing local meetings. He then called upon the Delegates to present their respective reports.

Babu Opender Chunder Mookerjea, the Delegate from Bancoorah, then rose and said:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen.—I rise to represent the Educational interests of my native District, Bancoorah, better known by its old name the Jungle-mehals, or the land of tigers, bears and wild beasts, and the residence of half-civilised people. The object, Sir, which has brought us together under this roof is one which interests all Bengalees, all of us alike, nay, our descendants.—It is to take

into consideration the propriety of memorializing His Grace the Secretary of State to disallow the proposed restrictions upon high or liberal education by withdrawing State assistance from English Schools and Colleges. The District of Bancoorah is notoriously poor, there are scarcely half a dozen moderately rich families in it, and those who send their children to the English school have not the means to pay more than what they are now paying. If what is contemplated be carried out it would be a virtual denial of education to a most important section of Her Majesty's most loyal and devoted subjects. The District of Bancoorah was formed on its present footing on the 1st of September 1837, and in the year 1844 a Government school was started—(here the Babu was asked by the Chairman to cut short his speech, which he did) and in conclusion he said-Under these circumstances I hope His Grace the Secretary of State will be pleased to give our memorial the very favorable consideration it deserves, and grant to us the boon which we have so long under Her Majesty's benevolent Government been enjoying.

Babu Dwarka Nath Chuckerbutty, Delegate from Beerbhoom, then addressed the meeting. The other Delegates were also prepared to speak, but as time pressed, the Chairman regretted that he could not do himself the pleasure of hearing them. He must go on with the business of the day. Rajah Narendra Krisna moved the first resolution which was as follows :—"That in the deliberate judgment of this meeting the people of India have derived the greatest benefits social, moral and intellectual from the system of education through the medium of the English language inaugurated by the late Lord William Bentinck, and encouraged and supported by successive Governors-General ; and that this meeting would regard as a national calamity the withdrawal or diminution of the assistance now afforded by the State to English schools and colleges."

He said : Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen. The question which has this day brought us here, is the most momentous that can interest humanity. It has accordingly engrossed the attention of

civilised Europe and America, and at the present day it is being discussed with unremitting ardour by ministers and statesmen, philosophers and philanthropists. I cannot presume to grasp it in all its bearings, but shall endeavour to dwell upon some of its most salient points. English education in Bengal, which has, under the fostering care of the British rule, been advancing with rapid strides and bearing rich fruits, is threatened to be arrested by a sudden fiat of the Government of India—a fiat which, it is feared, is the expression of a phase of morbid thought working for some time in the minds of certain officials, and for which an era of financial deficit has been supposed to be a fit occasion. It is upwards of a twelvemonth since, in an unlucky moment, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal submitted to the consideration of the supreme Government, a scheme for the revision of certain grades in the education service in the lower provinces of Bengal attended with an increased expenditure of only Rs. 825. It was received in the then boiling cauldron of fiscal cogitation and vaporised, and the upshot was, a resolution of the Financial Department couched in ominous words which, after declaring the inadmissibility of the additional expenditure on the score of the inadequacy of means at the disposal of Government to meet it, enunciated a new and dangerous educational policy. This resolution and the one which appeared in the *Gazette* of the 7th June of last year together with the previous correspondence on the subject of the education cess, between the Governments of Lord Lawrence and of Bengal as well as the pamphlet of Mr. Howell the Under-Secretary to the Government of India on education in Bengal, when analysed, furnish the following propositions :—

1st. It is the absolute duty of the British Government to give to the poorer classes of the natives of India a primary education, that is elementary instruction in the vernacular in simple reading and writing and in the four fundamental rules of Arithmetic.

2nd. This obligation of the state to provide elementary instruction for the masses is vastly inferior to that of encouraging English education.

3rd. Funds derived from taxation of the many, should not be spent on high education for a few.

4th. The expense which the State has hitherto incurred for English education in Bengal, although it has borne good fruits, has been an ever-increasing burden which has been weighing heavily on its finances, and the means at its disposal for the development of education, is very limited.

5th. The motives which induced the natives to seek English education, are *prima facie* sufficient for its rapid development without any contribution from the imperial finances.

6th. In Bengal, the most intellectually advanced province of India the desire for vernacular education or for education in order to develop the intellectual powers, apart from the immediate purpose of securing material advantages, does not exist.

On the admission of the principles involved in these propositions, the conclusion is drawn that it is high time Governmen should withdraw all aid from English educational institutions which must be left to the voluntary system, and encourage the establishment of elementary vernacular schools to be maintained mainly by local contributions, fees and cesses on land, and by such minimum help as it may seem proper to afford in conformity with the grants-in-aid system. Education, in its proper sense, is simply civilisation, and it would be a truism in the 19th century to say that it is the highest function of Government to give to every subject, rich or poor, the soundest possible training. Language is but the vehicle of knowledge, it matters little whether the most advanced knowledge is conveyed to the mind through the English or any of the vernaculars of India through the Hebrew or Pushtoo. Indeed, it would be an advantage to a people if the native tongue contain such stores, because less time would be spent in mastering it. Confining our remarks to Bengal, it may be asked, can the Bengalee language lay claim to the profession of those intellectual treasures which are embodied in some of the languages of the West? and with the negative answer that must be given to this query, English education for all classes who wish to avail of it would

appear to be a necessity, but as for obvious reasons it cannot reach the masses, progressive ideas in all departments of knowledge, must be gradually vernacularised by the recipients of English education, and reappear in translations for their use, and teachers should be trained to instruct them. This combined system already inaugurated by statesmen of the highest eminence, a Bentinck, an Auckland, a Trevelyan, and carried out by philanthropic and jealous coadjutors such as a Ryan and a Cameron although in its incipient stage has proved by its success, the soundness of its basis. This is the rationale of the downward filtration theory—a theory which, despite the treatment it has received from flippant thoughtlessness, stands like a rock on the firm foundation of truth and history unshaken by the shafts of ridicule and the undermining influence of insinuating calumny. No limit can be assigned to the results of its practical application ; we expect our language to be cast into a classic mould and rendered adequate to the expression of the abstrusest ideas and the loftiest sentiments ; we expect the growth of an original national literature as healthy and vigorous as that of England as reach and exhaustless as that of our Aryan, ancestors, and above all the acclimatization so to speak, of the ever-flourishing sciences and the arts of Europe and America, the History of the formation of the English language and of English progress testifies that this is not an idle chimera. Already a Vydia Sagur with the aid of the pliant Sanscrit and under the guidance of a taste improved and refined by English culture has shown how the ere while uncouth Bengallee can be made to compete in polish, elegance, and grandeur with the languages of the advanced nations of Europe—an Akshoy Cumar, how it can be made the language of science and eloquence, and a Rajendrolaul, how it can be fashioned into a vehicle for popular learning ; a fair beginning has been made rapid progress is developed, and the brightest prospects, as I have hinted at, (though distant) are hoped for ; but as long as the hope is not realised, as long as India, in respect of its vernacular and its teachers, reach not the present and the luminous portion, of the post of England in

respect of its English and intellectual giants, so long any scheme of instruction for the natives, which recommends a divorce from English education, cannot but end in a miserable fiasco—it would be simply suicidal. But the blundering dogma goes still further, it enunciates I may say the duty of our Government in the following words.—Give up English education, teach the people simply to read and write in their own languages and to perform sums in elementary arithmetic (with ease and satisfaction to themselves) and make their tether of such length that they graze not in richer fields of knowledge :—surely it is impossible without a clue to fathom the wisdom of such a measure. How vast the sacrifice. How miserably poor the gain if gain, at all it can be called. To confine education within this narrowly prescribed limit, is to forget its true import, to ignore its objects and aim, and to misunderstand the free mission of an enlightened Government. On the other hand, it is thought desirable to demolish the great structures built by English education, to undo the noble deeds of beneficent stetesmen, to paralyse the opening mind, to withdraw the elevating influence of western knowledge, to contract to nothingness the sphere of usefulness of the native Indian subjects, and to smother their highest hopes and aspirations. There is another important phase of the question, the absolute pauperism of the masses, on which a good deal may be said, but as the Bengal Government has, already, very properly drawn attention to it, I have only to remark that they must have food with the food of mind. When France, after the resolution, called all her children to receive instruction, the pupils could not have attended schools had they not had a remuneration of four sons a day. Those who advocate as non-progressive primary education, would only extend over a larger area—education as a degree higher or lower than that which prevails in the lower strata of our society, as the residuum of an antecedent but effete civilisation. But does Mr. Howell expect from a training of this sort, the evolution of a power wherewith the strongholds of superstition and ignorance would be battered, of a moral regeneration and development of

physical resources which would save a prison rate and a pauper rate. Is this the summumbonum to be kept in view, and is English education to be condemned "as the mere pursuit of a luxury, as the cultivation of tulips and exotics." Sir A. Alison, in his History of Europe, has by the light of educational and criminal statistics of France and Russia, shown that if elementary instruction be called education, there is a direct ratio between education and the increase of crimes. Mr. Hill, in his work on "crime," proves that the inverse ratio cannot be established with "a quantity of parrot-like knowledge," with an education which means the "mere capability of reading and writing" and "ignores a systematic development of the different powers of the body and mind" and Dr. Elam, in his essay on "Moral and Criminal Epidemics" says, "an education which merely instructs will encourage crime, one which co-ordinates the faculties of the mind, which gives exercise to reason and judgment, will elevate his position in the scale of creation and turn those faculties to the service of his fellow-creatures which otherwise would be employed to their destruction." The only intelligible sound policy of a primary education, is that it must be progressive even to the extent of making our "weaver at the loom bend over the Principia of Newton" and form, in its advanced stage, the basis of a technical education—an education which, for India, is an absolute necessity and the only source of her future prosperity, but which would leave to the choice of our artizans either to found their Indian Manchester and Sheffield or to plain their own benches for their future seats as dispensers of justice. We are indebted to Mr. Howell for his having thrown out hints in this direction, but he is wrong as I shall have occasion to show in supposing it not to be the duty of Government to support such an education. But how can this technical education be possible without teaching in all departments and grades of science in the Colleges and Universities—an object for which England itself is stirring and yearning. The true friends of our country, should, therefore, recommend a still higher type of training than that which goes under the name of high English education, and urge on Government of

foster it not only for its own sake and for the interest of those who receive it, but for the very masses who appeal to our sympathy. Let us have our Politechnica with their Vorschule or preparatory schools like those in Germany, which are all Government establishments, but let us also have Government institutions for high education with a complete curriculum of the sciences. It may be said why raise a hue and cry against the intention of Government to condemn English education when it has made no declaration to that effect, it only proposes the increase of schooling-fees and the withdrawal of scholarships and other grants. Let us see what would be the effect of such a measure. The appreciation of high English education as an intellectual culture aiming at the elevation of the race, is generally confined to that intelligent class of the natives of Bengal, which is the least able to pay for it; it is also valued at the passport to preferment, but its primary importance is never lost sight of by it. It is this class which has generally supplied youths who have been the pride of our educational institutions who have held positions of high honor and responsibility under the State, who have become useful members of society and have formed as it were the vanguard of our civilization. Our men of wealth, of varied castes and shades of faith, and stations in society, have various ideas of education. Some send their children to English schools as a matter of form, some to qualify them for the practical good of life or for contact with high officials or for an ambitious career; but a very few for the casting of the mind into a finer mould. Those boys again who are not generally distinguished for any great ardour for their studies "continue at their almamaters so long as they are not drawn away by a love of pleasure, by their guardian's ideas of their proficiency, by a rich inheritance or by the temptation of a baniaship." Who is then to suffer from the new scheme? Surely the *Pater familias*, who under the greatest privation and hardship seeks to provide for his goodly number of sons and those of relatives under his charge, a thorough English education it would prove to him in these hard times of crushing taxation, the last straw on the back of a camel. This state of-

things, coupled with the statement of the Director of Public Instruction, confirmed by that of the Lieutenant-Governor that the present fee rates are by no means low compared with the corresponding rates in all the most highly civilized countries of the world, and that they are in the main as high as can be reasonably fixed with reference to the circumstances of the people of Bengal " cannot but lead to the irresistible conclusion shared in by all our countrymen that the withdrawal or curtailment of state aid and a further enhancement of schooling fees of institutions under the patronage of Government, would be tantamount to proscribing English education and nipping the bud of its good fruits. Mr. Howell, very properly, suggests to look to England and Europe for advice where they succeeded, and warning where they failed. The grand results of the educational scheme of Germany which is generally followed by continental Europe have been described in impressive language by Mr. Roscoe. In England although some of the old universities now receive parliamentary grants and others have been often endowed by Royal munificence, her educationalists, representing the highest intellec- of the land, deplore the want of sufficient aid from Governmen- institutions which already receive some assistance from it. They say that " individual enterprise which it is so easy glibly to pronounce as the incarnation of vigour, has not borne the fruit at home, which Government support with its supposed emasculating tendency, has yielded abroad, and that there is only an apparent noble independence in the attempt to do that single-handed which single hands are proved incapable of doing."

Advice then from the continent of Europe and warning from England intensified by the late move for education reform support the necessity of Government aid to high education as well as technical instruction. The objection that the state has no moral right to apply funds raised by the taxation of all its members for the benefit of the few which has been raised against state aid to high education, carries with it, its own refutation. If this theory be correct, it would condemn every possible scheme of public expenditure which cannot directly benefit all, and graduate the benefit

to be derived by each person in proportion to his exact contribution, which is an impossibility. This theory errs also in ignoring the indirect advantages of high education enjoyed by the mass. Do you not see how the country at large is benefitted by its improving the public services in every department—how without it could we find a worthy soul for the ermine or the toga, an able educator, a skilful physician and a thorough engineer. An Adam Smith and a Stuart Mill declare it profitable to the state to afford high education. England also exclaims Government must not plead economy as an excuse for not giving education, for "the highest economy comes out of wise expenditure." Why should the ominous trisyllable deficit be urged in defence of the proscription of English education or Civilization. Let it rather set our Rulers on the alert against uncontrolled expenditure in works which compared to education are but state pageants. (*Loud applause.*)

Babu Rajendralala Mittra in seconding the resolution said that, as the question of what should be the proper medium of education had once again been revived, it was well that his countrymen had thought fit publicly to give expression to their opinion and wishes in regard to it. And it was highly gratifying to notice from the proceedings, laid on the table, of the several numerously attended and respectable meetings that had lately been held in different parts of this province and the deputations that had been sent to the Calcutta meeting, the perfect unanimity which prevailed among the Hindu community in the Mofussil on this most important subject. It was the more gratifying to observe that the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the twice-born Brahman and the degraded washerman, the urban and the rustic, were all of one accord. Every man who was able to think was of opinion that the moral and material advancement of the people depended on a wide diffusion of European knowledge in the country. Nor had that opinion been formed by the sight of sundry crusts and crumbs which had fallen from the official table to the lot of a fortunate few—a mere

drop in the ocean—but after a careful survey of the condition and the most urgent wants of Bengali Society. In Calcutta that opinion was arrived at more than half a century ago, when the people so warmly seconded the exertion of that great philanthropist David Hare, to establish the late Hindu College, and hundreds of boys crowded the forms of that institution. A few years subsequently one of the noblest of the Hindu race, the late Raja Rammohun Roy, heartily joined the Anglicists and raised his powerful voice against the mistaken orientalists of the period; and there has not been a single instance since that time in which an intelligent man of Bengal had demurred to the diffusion of the western languages and literature in his native land. This universal unanimity, spoke for itself, and needed no comment. It settled the question definitively as regards the people of this country. It may appear strange, continued the Babu, that at a time when the brave and patriotic Poles are exerting their utmost to defend their national language which has been assisted at the point of the bayonet by an inexorable autocrat, we here should cry for a foreign tongue when our kind hearted rulers wish to diffuse the blessings of education through the vernaculars of our country. But, Sir, in Poland the vernacular is of the highest political importance; it is the great bound of union; it holds the people together as distinct from the other races of Europe; it preserves for them the annals of all that is dear to them, and contains a store of literature and science fully sufficient for all their requirements. Our vernaculars, on the other hand, (and we have many where the Poles have only one) are poor and undeveloped, and serve only to divide and disunite us. We yield not to the Poles in our love for our country and our race; but we feel that the best way to love them is to promote their welfare. It was well in the primitive states of society to defend every thing that was national, for it was then a question of life and death; but such a patriotism in the present day would be a curse, and you should have none of it. If patriotism means an insensate love of every thing that is ours, whether good or bad, away with

such patriotism. If it is to teach us to rest satisfied with our lares and penates, our language and our civilization, as they now stand, the less we have of it the better. Such patriotism requires us to hug our chains, and remain intellectual bondsmen for ever. True patriotism, however, is not a blind adherence to ancient customs, but an intelligent love for the welfare and advancement of our race, and if you really wish to serve your country, you should not hesitate a moment to spurn every thing that stands in the way of progress; and import from foreign land whatever is calculated to raise her in the scale of nations. Our history, our traditions, our ancient glory, are preserved in a language which has long since ceased to be current, and it is impossible to revive it. It can now only serve as a monument of the past, and not the instrument of future amelioration. Our vernaculars are mere media of speech and all but totally devoid of such scientific and literary lore as can raise a nation and satisfy our intellectual wants. Our only resource therefore is to borrow what we want from those who will help us, and who can assist us better in this respect than the noble race which now sways the destiny of this country? Time was when the languages of Greece and Rome were supposed to represent all that was noble and great for the culture of the human mind. But that time has long since passed away. The languages of Germany, France and England have gone far ahead of them, and no man can now be called truly learned who has not acquired a thorough knowledge of at least one of them, and of the magnificent stock of science and literature that they have amassed. For us the language of England has the greatest commendation. It is fully as rich, if not richer, than those of France and Germany, and it has at the same time many advantages, which the others do not possess. Those advantages may be all expressed in a single sentence, it is the language of our Government. If you wish to be an able lawyer you must learn it; if you desire to have the honors of the bench you must learn it; if you wish to be a competent senator or legislator you must again learn it. Do you wish to distin-

guish yourself in the healing art, you must learn English, so must you if you desire wealth by foreign commerce. For you none of the sciences of modern Europe can be more readily acquired than through the medium of English, and even for a thorough study of the history of your own national classic, the Sanskrit, you must have a competent knowledge of English literature. Can you afford to give up such a language—such an Aladin's lamp of knowledge—for the sake of a mistaken patriotism?

It has been said by a learned gentleman, high in Government service, and performing the duties of a minister of Public Instruction in India, that high education is not of essential service to society, and it serves only to make "tulips and exotics" of us; but will you, and will Europe, endorse the opinion that the Herchels and Humboldts and Stephensons of society are mere "tulips," like tares in a wheat field, and that those who have just placed a girdle round half the circumstance of the Globe we inhabit, are of no es sential service to the community? It may be that it is more arduous for us to acquire, in a foreign language, what people in Europe learn in their own vernaculars; but it is neither impossible nor particularly difficult. It is only a year ago that one of you in a competitive examination stood second in English amidst three hundred of the flower of England's youth. He was weighted for a welter and had to run against feather weights, and he won with ease. I have no doubt that there are hundreds, if not thousands, amongst you who could do the same under like circumstances.

It has been urged by the gentleman whom I have already adverted to, that no body prevents us from learning English or any other language we choose, but the Government is not bound to provide for us. But this doctrine appears to me quite as consistent as that about tulips and exotics. The gentleman himself admits that it is the duty of Government to provide for the education of the people; and if so, it must follow as a matter of course, that the education provided should be good and sound

and useful, and not a shadow which, to quote the language of Macaulay, can bring to the recipient neither bread nor honor.' It has been all along held in every part of the civilized world, that the glory and greatness of a nation depends upon the sum total of knowledge acquired by its foremost representatives, and not upon the extent of the area over which it is sprinkled in drops. Greece was great because she had her Homer and Socrates and Plato. Rome was likewise great because of her Philosophers and Poets and Historians; neither on account of any popular education, for they had none, and the bulk of their population was made up of helots. England is great and truly great, but has she achieved that greatness by any system of widespread elementary education? No: her greatness depends upon her scholars and her scientific men. Take them away and she will at once sink to the position of Spain or Portugal. If then the greatness of a nation depends upon the extent to which liberal education is cultivated in it, is clearly the duty of the British Indian Government to offer every encouragement to high education in this country, and not to let it take care of itself, in order that Government resources ~~alone~~ may be devoted solely to that which is not by itself able to help the nation onward,—a postponement of that which is of the utmost importance, for that which is of secondary consequence. In the cess despatch, just received, it is said "that the true wealth of a wise and just Government lies in the growing wealth of its people, and the fiscal system which most encourages the accumulation and enjoyment of capital in private hands must in the long run be the most profitable to the state" and if so, ~~it is~~ the Government is clearly bound to encourage that kind of education most which is calculated to be the most remunerative and not to deny it all encouragement because it leads to material advantages. In European countries every possible encouragement is held forth to university education, large annual grants are given from the state exchequer for the support of universities. In Germany this amounts to 29 thalers for every thaler paid by the student in the way of fees. In France the Government allow-

nce is 190 Rs., per student, and in Italy to no less than 227 Rs., against an average of only 10 Rs., in Bengal. Turning from the continent to England we find the magnificent endowments of her Colleges are due, to a great extent, to gifts of land by former sovereigns, and the state allowance to the Queen's College in Dublin and the Maynooth grant shew that the principle has not been lost sight of in the present day. No doubt many of the endowments of English Colleges are due to private charities, but those charities did not flow in all at once. Centuries passed away before they attained their present proportions, and in India the same may be expected in a much shorter time. Within the last fourteen years, that the Calcutta university has been in existence, private benefactions for the support of collegiate education have poured in to the extent of nearly seven lacs on this side of India, and at that rate our colleges will be rendered self-supporting before the century is out. But whether they are so or not, the duty of Government will always remain the same, and we have every right to demand—not to pray—that it should render every reasonable encouragement to that which is of the highest value for the well-being of the nation. This has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Government itself, and is such a manifest truism in the science of Government, that it would be a waste of words to demonstrate it.

But while advocating the cultivation of the English language for those who can afford the necessary time and the means, I shall not forget the claims of those classes who cannot afford them. For them the vernaculars must continue to be the only media of education, and it behoves both the Government and the people at large to see that they are supplied with what is most appropriate for them. I shall be the last to deny any man his due; but I cannot tolerate any scheme which will deprive one section of the community of its rights for the benefit of another, even when put forth under the cloak of benevolence and philanthropy. Injustice does not cease to be so because its proceeds are devoted to a good purpose. To do evil that good may proceed from it enters not in my humble code of morals. If Government

is bound to provide for the education of the people under its care it is bound to see that the means at its disposal are equally distributed among the different classes of the community, who contribute to those means and not to select some for its favors and neglect others.

It is the fashion among some of our enemies to say that the education given in the Government Colleges is charity education. I denounce the charge as a malicious calumny, and altogether repudiate the idea that education given at the cost of the state, that is out of the public revenues contributed by the people at large, is an act of charity. Were it so you may as reasonably say that the protection we derive from the police and the judicial establishments of the country, are gratuitous; and the military establishments are kept up gratis for our good. As a matter of fact, we in Bengal, pay more for our education besides the share which comes out of our contribution to the revenues of the state, than any other nation in the civilized world. According to a recent resolution of the University authorities of Oxford the annual fee has been reduced to £3-10 in that ancient seat of learning, when the average cost to each student in Bengal is £9. Bearing this in mind I ask is it not a matter of extraordinary effrontery for those who get their education at the cost of 3-10 to themselves, the rest being made up by public charities, to call us charity boys who pay £14-6 in Calcutta. True there are some Government scholarships attached to our colleges, and their total value is about £7000 a year, but before malevolent people carp at us for them, it would be well if they would remember that in France over 18 lacs are annually devoted to bursaries, and in England the value of exhibitions and bursaries proceeding from pure charity considerably exceeds that sum.

There is one question more to which I shall advert; it is the possibility of raising the Indian vernaculars sufficiently for the purposes of a liberal course of education. I begin by denying that such a thing is possible within any reasonable time. There are a hundred and one vernaculars now current in the country,

and it is utterly utopian to suppose that all or most of them can be improved so as to be fit for university education. None, I believe, will be full hardy enough to insist on it, and if not the whole argument about the superiority of the vernaculars will fall to the ground. A few of the vernaculars may be improved and when they are what will become of those races whose vernaculars are not improved? They must be obliged to study in, to them, a foreign tongue; and if so why not give them the English at once instead of waiting for the improvement of a language quite as strange to them. Even to effect that improvement the only means at our disposal is to import the sciences and the arts of modern civilization from the nations of Europe, and how can that be accomplished unless we learn those sciences first and then translate them into our vernaculars? When Russia wanted those sciences she did not begin by forbidding all foreign languages, but by offering every possible encouragement to the study of the French and the German languages. The Porte and the Pasha of Egypt have done the same in a small way, and if our Governors really wish for our good they must do likewise. To sit still till the vernaculars are improved would be the surest way to prevent the possibility of their ever being improved. It would be invoking Jupiter instead of putting our own shoulders to the wheel. But even with our best exertions we cannot possibly attain our object in less than a century, and to give up the study of the English now is therefore tantamount to giving up all prospect of improvement for three generations to come. But even after that the necessity for learning English will not cease. No Hindu in Bengal would for a moment wish to see our present Government changed. On the whole India never had a Government so good in the whole course of her history; and if the Government is to last the necessity for learning English will always continue, even after the Bengali is rendered as perfect as the English. It is the language of our gracious sovereign over whose dominions the sun never sets; it is the language of commerce all over the east. It is the language of Milton and Shakespear; of Newton, and Bacon, of Locke and Hume; it is

the language of a noble host of physicists of the present century, who have altogether changed the face of civilization in Europe, can you afford to give up such a language for the poems of Kritibas and the doggrels of Kavi-Kankan, or even for such sloppy translations as you can produce for years to come? If you can I shall deeply regret your choice, for it would amount to an intellectual suicide. (*Tremendous loud cheering.*)

Babu Kalimohun Dass said :—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen. The splendid talents and exalted rank of the nobleman by whom this Resolution has been proposed, the superior eloquence and comprehensive view of the question taken by the distinguished gentleman who followed him—a gentleman as well-known in the department of literature and science as in the region of politics, render it superfluous for me to tire your patience to any great length by further observation in support of this Resolution.—I hope, however, I shall be excused if I attempt to set forth before you some of the salient points which this most important and momentous subject presents to my mind. I shall not be longer if I can help it than so serious a matter requires.

I confess I feel a sort of disgust almost bordering despair at the manner in which the Government has hitherto looked upon the arguments contained in the various reports and letters addressed by the learned and conscientious Director of Public Instruction—arguments which were accepted and approved by the local Government, by such an able, upright and virtuous man as our Lieutenant Governor (hear, hear.) I feel it with sorrow and utter it with considerable reluctance that although the honor and dignity of Great Britain is intimately bound up with the right decision of questions like this—questions which affect the weal and woe of one hundred and eighty millions of Her Majesty's most loyal subjects, our rulers are not much disposed to listen to the voice of the nation or to respect their wishes. It is not my wish, gentlemen, to enhance the misfortune of this nation by inflaming the minds of our rulers by indiscreet declamation or unnecessary bitterness. It is of the utmost importance to us that a difference of opinion on this

question should not fester into rancour or breed any sort of ill-feeling between our rulers and ourselves. But gentlemen when I consider for one moment the probable consequence of the measure contemplated by the State, when I see that the face of Bengal is once more to be covered with darkness, that once more the shadow of night and dismal superstition shall overtake this wretched, this ill-starred-country, I believe you will excuse me if I go to the bottom of this controversy and explain to you how this matter stands on the documents and despatches penned and issued by the authorities. Many of you, gentlemen, are no doubt thoroughly aware of all that has been written and said regarding this question, but as there are others present in this meeting whose profession and avocation in life, may not have left them leisure enough to enter into the details of this sad controversy, I will begin by reading to you the Resolution of the Government of India, Dated 8th September 1869, No. 3233 of the (Here the speaker read the Resolution) Financial Department.

This official document is quite on a par with the other calculations and productions of that praiseworthy Department, which delights in mysteries of figures, and finds deficit when there is a surplus, discovers that a sum of Rs. 19,33,520 was spend by State for the high education of the natives of Bengal in the year 1868-69. This disclosure as was to be expected whetted the financial zeal of the Government of India and hence the Resolution of September last.

I need hardly mention to you that this Resolution of the Government is based on incorrect data and erroneous calculations. Adverting to the comparative claims of English and Vernacular education to the support of the State, the Governor General of India in Council observes "The principle which the Government of India had in mind in the Resolution of September applies alike to all English education *viz.*, this, that the motives which induce the people to seek it are *prima facie*, sufficient for its rapid development without any contribution from the Imperial finances. It is notorious that the same assertion can by no means be made in regard to vernacular education. It

may, it is believed, truly be said, in respect even to the most intellectually advanced provinces of India, such as Bengal, that the desire for Vernacular education, or, as might distinctively be said, for education in order to develop the intellectual powers, apart from the immediate purpose of securing material advantages, is so low as perhaps hardly to exist. It is undeniable that in this form education needs, and ought to receive, much artificial stimulus and encouragement. The Government of India is glad, to perceive, that though dissatisfied with the terms of its Resolution, the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor, and the Director of Public Instruction, admit the practicability of gradually, and with discretion, increasing the contributions of those who receive from the State, or by its aid, an English education. The Governor General in Council is of opinion that this should be kept constantly and prominently in view and that it should be, in accordance with the views expressed by successive Secretaries of State, the constant aim of the Supreme and the local Governments, co-operating cordially together, to reduce to the utmost the charge upon the State for English education, with a view to render it as self-supporting as possible There is another observation on this Resolution which I cannot help making, it is this. We are told that for the purpose with which the Government of India recorded the Resolution of September 1869, "*all* English education must be classed *high*."

With these introductory remarks which have set forth before you with the object of pointing out clearly the nature and object of the measure which is now on the anvil of the State I will proceed to make some remarks on the resolution which I have the honor to support. This resolution divides itself into two heads :

1st.—The vast progress which the cause of education has made since the time of Lord William Bentinck.

2nd.—The calamity which awaits us if the proposed retrograde step of withdrawing or considerably diminishing State aid from English education be adopted.

On the first branch of this enquiry, I have simply to call your attention to the Resolution of Lord William Bentinck dated 7th March 1835, which I find in page 7 of Vol. I. of a Report on Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency from 1835 to 1851 by J. Kerr, Esq.

It would appear from the celebrated Resolution of Lord William Bentinck, just referred to, deciding in favor of English education that previous to 1835 the Government had to provide the students of its Schools and Colleges with books and stipends in order to enable them to study in pursuance perhaps of the custom which prevailed in this country during the reign of the Hindoo and Mahomedan Governments. The poverty of the students stood in their way and this Resolution of Lord William Bentinck put a temporary check to their progress, so that the Government of Lord Auckland considered it necessary in the year 1839 to bestow scholarships in the proportion of "one to every four of the pupils" and Lord Hardinge in the year 1844, held out every promise of employment and reward to successful students. Such was the difficulty the Government felt in this period of time that notwithstanding all these means and devices the number of stipendiary students in the year 1843 was limited to 27 pupils only! Compare and contrast this result with what is returned in the report of the Director of Public Instruction 1868-69, and you will find that we have at present 5423 Schools of all descriptions English and Bengali, aided and unaided, giving instruction to 215,550 students. This result, to say the least of it, establishes beyond the possibility of a doubt that education is now fully appreciated and those who can afford to receive its light are not content to remain in darkness. If it be necessary to adduce further evidence on this point, I need only say that this meeting consisting as it does of men of all grades and castes of so many districts and villages establishes most conclusively and beyond the possibility of a doubt the degree of interest which is now felt by our countrymen in the cause of education (Hear hear.) But whilst the number of our educational institutions and the number of those who attend those institutions is no doubt an index to the

intellectual progress of Bengal, it is by no means true that the number of those who have received sufficient and satisfactory knowledge of the arts and sciences that are taught in Europe and America is very considerable. There is hardly one native who can make a ship or even a pin, hardly one amongst us who can teach the rest of our countrymen the science and discoveries of Europe hardly a score who can speak good idiomatic English. Gentlemen, it occurred to me when I rose to address you after the distinguished speaker who seconded this resolution, that if I failed in using appropriate words and epithets in conveying my ideas to you it was only because the education which I had received was materially defective. The more glaring our failure the more clearly it should appear that enough has not been done for us to teach us even the language of England (laughter.) As for the social and moral progress we have made it is enough I think to call your attention to the fact that most of our superstitious institutions and customs are tottering fast dying away, that there are amongst us a number of religious and social reformers whose self-imposed mission in the cause of their country—whose perseverance in the cause of reform is exceedingly praiseworthy and creditable to themselves as well as to their country (Hear Hear.) What then are the arguments, which are used to divert or withdraw the funds contributed by the State for the promotion of English education in Bengal—what are the reason assigned for rooting up the tree which has borne so many, so sweet, so beautiful fruits. These arguments and reasons as they appear from official correspondence may be divided into three classes. 1. Social, 2. Financial, 3. Political. Under the first head may be classed all those arguments which spring from natural sympathy for our peasants, our shoemakers, our blacksmiths, our carpenters and all those castes and classes of men, who live by manual labour. The condition of these classes—their ignorance, their superstition, their bigotry and their poverty awaken pity in the hardest heart, and it has been very justly said that their condition is a "disgrace to England and to the English Government in India." It is not I may say the object or intention of any gentleman pre-

sent at this meeting to withhold the light of knowledge from these classes. Speaking for myself I shall rejoice and welcome the day when the torch of knowledge and civilization shall be carried to every village and hamlet, when a network of Schools and Colleges shall be spread from one end of this peninsula to another, when every peasant shall have his books and writing, when even the shoemaker shall be competent for the Bench and the bar, when in fact Bengal shall ring with the noise of intellectual achievement, and fairly regain the place which she held in days of yore in the scale of nations. (Cheers.) But at the same time, I must say that very few of those whom our paternal Government would thus assist, elevate, enlighten and regenerate can under pesent circumstances spare their time and attention for intellectual cultivation. Children above the age of six or seven are required to assist their parents in earning a livelihood. Imagine Gentlemen, a peasant *pater familias* burdened with the charge of six or seven children and the wives and children of those children being dependant upon the produce of 20 or 25 Beghas of land minus rent, minus cess, minus tax, minus fines and penalties, working with borrowed seeds and borrowed ploughs, and cattle, and you can well realize to yourself a portion of the difficulties, by which he is surrounded. (Hear Hear). How far is it possible to educate men like these? Compulsory education would be more a blight than a blessing to these men and surely no man can be expected to read or instruct his children unless he can feed them during the pursuit of knowledge (Loud applause).

The financial complaint, which presents complicated symptoms in consequence of the disordered and disorganised machinery at work and the endless confused state of our public accounts is after all a curable disease, which admits of easy remedy, if our rulers will look to the abuses which carry off millions and apply the scissors of retrenchment to vested interests and privileged high quarters instead of applying the pruning knife mercilessly and ruthlessly to hundreds of ill-paid writers, amlahs, dufftaries and punkha bearers (Loud applause.) To spend the infinitessimal sum of 6 or 7 lacs out of an enormous elastic

and yearly increasing revenue of 17 crores supplied by Bengal and to call this 1·000 proportion a heavy weight on the exchequer of the State is a process of reasoning quite unintelligible to ordinary mortals and will hardly fail to excite the contempt and ridicule of other civilized nations, which contribute so largely for the development of their intellectual resources and for the progress and advancement of those whom Providence has placed under their care (Applause.) England occupies so very conspicuous a place in the theatre of the world, that at a time like this when the human intellect is making gigantic strides in all quarters of the globe, when discoveries of all descriptions thicken upon us, with such a rapidity that the most powerful intellect fails to take a comprehensive view thereof at a time like this when even despotic Governments take a share in the education of their subjects, it ill becomes the position, the dignity, the prestige nay the honor and pride of Great Britain to renounce her noble mission of awakening the energies and elevating the minds of one hundred and eighty millions of men from any consideration of finances by withdrawing its aid from high class education (loud cheers and cries of hear hear.) Much indeed has been done, but more, much more still remains undone. Gentlemen, I cling with superstitious tenacity to the doctrine that nothing short of a very high class education can achieve the task of India's regeneration, and you must excuse me if I say that to withdraw the aid of the State from this class of education is tantamount to a renunciation of the policy which the Government has hitherto pursued. To substitute the Vernaculars for English as a cheap medium of education at a time when there is hardly one work in any one of them, where you can find even a resume of the philosophical and scientific researches of Europe and America, when there are hardly words and terms in those languages to render and translate those researches would, it strikes me, be taking too bold a step—a step full of desperate hazard and difficulty. The result, gentlemen will undoubtedly be, "mean reparations on mighty ruins."

It has been proposed to raise the fees in all Government and

vided English Schools as a means of diminishing the contributions of the State for such Education so that English Education in Bengal may be prosecuted "not only without carrying a charge to the imperial revenue, but even so as to provide some means for helping forward Vernacular Education." This proposal assumes in the first place that the students in our Government Colleges and Schools pay less schooling fees than the students in other civilized countries say England, France, Prussia, Italy and Switzerland and in the next place the capability of the parents and guardians of these students to pay more. Both these assumptions are alike unwarranted. In the University of Oxford the fee payable under a recent statute is £3 10s. per annum. In France the fee charged in all its colleges (Lycees) range from £6 to £10 per annum and the fee for the Communal colleges (which resemble our district schools) is £1 per annum. In Prussia the average fee rate is a little lower than £2 11s. per annum and the highest fee rate, appears to be £4 per annum. Mr. Arnold calculates that in Italy a State so newly constituted and engaged in struggles with such gigantic difficulties the yearly average cost of a student for maintaining himself at the University all charges included is about 3£. As for Switzerland the same author observes that the "fees are low and the staff of professor is excellent." Mr. Arnold also tells us that France spends £3 7s. Italy £5 12s. from the imperial exchequer and that in the year 1861 Prussia spent £79,629 to meet a sum of £2761 from the students' fees, endowments &c., yielding a further sum of £21,160. Now, gentlemen compare these figures with the statement in page 5 of the Report of Public Instruction 1868-69 and you will find that the cost of each pupil to the State in Bengal is Rs. 10-12-7 only. Can it be said in this state of facts that the students of Bengal receive a charity education? Can it be maintained for one moment that parents and guardians of our students pay nothing for the Education of their children when they spend lacs and lacs for *Shrad* and marriages? The argument speaks for itself, and it is only to be wondered at that it should find utterance from men who paid much less to the State in which they were educated

than the children of Bengal. It has been said that the position and wealth of the students who read in our Government Colleges and Schools is such that they can easily pay an increased fee for their education. To rebut this assumption I have only to read the remarks of Mr. Sutcliffe Principal of the Presidency College, reported in page 431 of the Report on Public Instruction for 1868-69. After giving a full analysis of the positions and occupations of the guardians and parents of the students the learned principal says that 25 per cent. of the students are dependent upon their Scholarships for defraying their college expenses. This remark of the Principal of our most expensive Government institution has an eloquence, which I can hardly surpass, and if with facts like these the Government should still insist on an increase of the Schooling fees, it would only strengthen the impression that under the high-sounding name of mass-education lurks an intention to bring about a dissolation of our great Educational Institutions.

Before I resume my seat I wish to crave your indulgences and ask your forbearance for a few minutes more. I would ask you to consider the arguments which have been printed and paraded so often and which are drawn from a forced construction of the Despatch of 1854, a document which has been tortured and tormented to suit the premeditated views of those well-wishers of Bengal who maintain that the time has come when the State should withdraw its aid from high class and English Education. These gentlemen maintain on the authority of the 62nd and 86th paras of the Educational Despatch for 1854 that the English Colleges and Schools maintained by the State should be closed. But if they will turn their eyes to the 2nd, 4th, 7th, 38th, 97th and 100th paras of this Charter of Education, they will find the reverse. "What we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe." Our object is to extend European knowledge throughout all classes of the people. "We have shown that this object must be effected by means of the English language in the higher benches

of instruction." Is the system of education that has been adopted in Bengal entirely provided by the Government! Do we not contribute very largely if not equally with the State for this system? The receipts and disbursements of the education department for the year 1868-69 as given in page 44 of the *Calcutta Gazette* show that out of a total gross outlay of £2,95,150 £1,19,651 is from private sources. And only £1,75,499 is paid by the State (Hear hear.) But apart from this circumstance the argument based on the 62nd para of the Despatch carries its own refutation, for that very para contains these words. "*But it is far from our wish to check the spread of education in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single School to probable decay.*" Now let us turn to the 86th para. Can it be said that sufficient provision is found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes, for the diffusion of a knowledge of the science, philosophy and literature of Europe, so that Government institutions of the higher order may be safely closed? Let me ask you in the name of truth whether the fact is not entirely different? whether even the higher order of Government Colleges teach any thing which may be called a sufficient diffusion of the knowledge of -European arts and Science? Do we know enough of European Science—are we taught enough of European philosophy, when the most advanced students of our Colleges cannot carry on a Geological Survey? Yes, enough has really been taught to us—the time has really come for a discontinuance of English education when there not half a dozen natives who can properly translate the scientific works of Europe and America! Would it redound to the credit of Great Britain if India were thrown back half a century ago, if superstition were to regain its dominion over her? Would it reflect much credit on the English press which might justly claim in its ranks some of the ablest and philanthropic men of our time if they should lend their support to a policy which was at once fallacious, illiberal, and retrograde in its character, a policy which was the off-spring of antiquated ideas and fraught with so many unfortunate consequences? It is true,

that the State might feed the intellect of the masses, but I say, gentlemen, that England would drink to the dregs the cup of her shame if she were to accomplish it by starving the intellect of those classes, who in every country and clime in all ages and stages of human development have so materially and essentially assisted in the improvement and elevation of the masses *(Cheers.)* Gentlemen, I now come to the most important and interesting aspect of this controversy—its political aspect. In para. 11 of the letter of the Director of Public Instruction dated 30th November 1869, a letter from which I have quoted so often and so much, a letter which does credit to his sincerity at the same time that it does honor to the goodness of his heart, after pointing out that "any sweeping measure as to increasing the schooling fees," such as is now suggested, will certainly not result in financial success the conscientious Director observes, "the benefits of these institutions have conferred and are still conferring upon the country, in the improvement of every branch of the public service, and in the advancement of general civilization and enlightenment, are so striking and so overwhelming, that the possibility of such an intention would never have presented itself to my mind were it not for certain recent indications that there are misgivings existing in high quarters regarding the political results to be anticipated from a wide diffusion of a high English education among the people of Bengal, and suspicion suggested by them that there may not impossibly be a latent desire to put a drag upon its progress by the application of a money pressure, for which plausible grounds can now be adduced in the disordered state of the public finances. This is not a suitable occasion to discuss a question of such vast importance, but I must venture to express my profound conviction that such fears regarding the results of enlightenment and intellectual culture are absolutely chimerical, and rest on no more stable foundation than the similar views which were still current in England a quator of a century ago regarding the danger to be anticipated to society from the spread of education among the masses of our own fellow-coun

trymen." What are these anticipated political results? What are these misgivings which exist in high quarters? Is it that the schools and colleges of Bengal supply roots which feed sedition and rebellion? (*Cheers*). Is it therefore that the trees which supply these roots must be starved in order to famish their fruits? (*Cheers*). If so, our Inspectors and Directors are much indeed to blame: they should learn their lessons again and begin their task anew, rather than draw high salaries for teaching and preaching sedition to a class of men, whose religion teaches them to be loyal, meek, passive and submissive, whose theory is that the Flesh only suffers and not the Soul, whose physical debility and constitutional weakness is a sufficient guarantee of public tranquillity. Is it possible that a nation that respects even the person of a cow for the sake of her milk, should rebel against a Government that has fostered it with all the fondness of a father for so long a time, and revived in it love of learning with such preserving efforts and conferred on it inestimable blessings? (Loud applause.) Is rebellion ever known in the history of Bengal? I can scarcely conceive that this is one of the misgivings, which lurk in the minds of our rulers—I would rather believe that the Director of Public Instruction has been misled than that the Government entertains such ungenerous distrust, for after all ignorance is not the best sentinel to keep the peace! (loud and tremendous applause.)

Carried.

Rajah Suttyanund Ghosal Bahadoor moved the second Resolution which was as follows: "That this meeting, while strongly advocating the diffusion of English Education, does not the less desire the provision, by every reasonable means of Vernacular Education. But in the opinion of this meeting the only satisfactory basis of Vernacular Education is the cultivation of Western literature and science." He said after all the elaborate speeches he had heard, he had very little to add. The want of education in the Bengalees had always drawn the serious consideration of the paternal Government. Vernacular

education was no doubt a very desirable thing, but still it entirely depended on a full and complete knowledge of western literature. He thought that it was as much necessary to diffuse Vernacular education as it was to supply the wants of English Education for the middle and high classes. Yet, preference should be given to the science and literature of the west, and it would be very impolitic on the part of Government to withdraw the one in order to support the other.

Baboo Kissory Chand Mitter rose and said: Baboo Romanauth Tagore and gentlemen. I have been requested to second the Resolution which has just been moved by my friend Rajah Suttya Nundo Ghosal, and I do so with great pleasure. The history of education in this country and the marvellous changes wrought by it during the last two quarters of a century afford in my humble judgment the strongest condemnation of the educational policy propounded by the Government of India and also the strongest support to the Resolution itself. For some time after the establishment of the British Supremacy in India no thought could be bestowed on the education of the people. But when the empire was consolidated and peace was proclaimed better ideas dawned on our rulers. Warren Hastings was keenly alive to the importance of extension of Oriental learning. Lord Moira recorded a minute in the judicial administration of Bengal in which he fully recognized the duty of the state to promote the moral and mental advancement of the people. Several English Schools were in the meanwhile established in Calcutta and the metropolitan districts, the first of these being one set up at Chinsurah by Mr. Robert May a dissenting missionary and which culminated in the College of Mahomed Moslem. These schools spread a taste for English learning. Availing themselves of this altered state of feeling David Hare, Sir Hide East, and the leading members of the native community in 1816 established the Hindu College. The Hindu College, Sir, proved a brilliant success. Its alumni were the first band of reformers who made noble exertions to improve and elevate

their country. They were eager to communicate the knowledge they had acquired at the College to their less fortunate countrymen and they established for this purpose several schools in and around Calcutta. Of these schools I have given a detailed list in a paper read by me at the Bengal Social Science Association.

In 1835 the battle between the Orientalists and the Anglicists was decided in favor of the latter, and a new system of education was inaugurated. It was based on the dictum of Macaulay that a shelf of a good European Library was worth the whole native Library of India and Arabia. It was announced in a Resolution of the Government which I shall read to you:

"The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

2nd. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.

3rd. But it is not the intention of his Lordship in Council to abolish any College or School of Native learning, while the Native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantage which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students of all Institutions under the Superintendence of the Committee, shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which in the natural course of things would be superseded by more useful studies, and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the committee shall report to the Govern-

ment the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing successor.

4th. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the committee in the printing of Oriental Works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the Funds shall hereafter be so employed

5th. His Lordship in Council directs that all the Funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the Native Population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language, and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government with all expedition a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.

(Sd.) H. T. PRINSEP,
Secy. to the Government.

The adoption of the English language as the sole medium of instruction to the exclusion of the Oriental languages was as grave an error as the present proposal of excluding English education and adopting the vernaculars. Now while I yield to none in my high appreciation of the English language and the value of the treasures contained in it, I maintain that the learning of India and Arabia is not altogether so false and valueless as Lord Macaulay would have us believe. India was the cradle of knowledge and has given birth to a host of philosophers, physicians, and theologians who have developed new lines of thought. Arabia followed in the footsteps of Athens, which contained to speak, the concentrated intellect of Europe. She cultivated mathematics, physics, and medical science with great vigor and success. That the philosophical labors of India and Arabia successsively resulted in mysticism, and idealism, scepticism and sensualism, is not to be wondered at, because they were the sole actors, in that intellectual arena where in all age and among all civilized nations they are in turn in the position of combatants

and of the sovereigns. I can, therefore, well understand the enthusiasm of the orientalists for Sanscrit and Arabic, but I lament the great mistake which they committed in making those *dead* languages the sole media of instruction, a mistake which would have done harm if it had not been exploded by the keen logic and incisive generalization of Lord Macaulay. Happily for the cause of education the General Committee of Public Instruction entrusted with the duty of carrying out the new system interpreted the Government Resolution liberally and broadly in respect to the vernacular languages. In their report on the operations of the educational institutions in their charge for the year 1835 they make the following pertinent remarks :

"We are deeply sensible for the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th of March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this instruction. In the discussions which preceded that order the claims of the Vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties, and the question submitted for the decision of Government, only conserved the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side and the learned Eastern languages on the other. We, therefore, conceive that the phrases "European literature and science," "English education alone," and "imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages" are intended merely to secure the preference to European learning taught through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, as regards the instruction of those natives who receive a learned education at our Seminaries. These impressions have, as we understand, them, no reference to the question through what ulterior medium such instruction as the mass of the people is capable of receiving, is to be conveyed. If English had been rejected and the learned Eastern tongues adopted the people must equally have received them through the vernacular dialects. It was, therefore, quite unnecessary for the Government, to take any notice of the vernacular tongues and consequently

we have thought that nothing could reasonably be inferred from its omission to take such notice.

"We conceive the formation of a vernacular Literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present the extensive cultivation of some foreign language, which is always very improving to the mind is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the natives to give the preference, and with it the knowledge of the learning of the West is therefore daily spreading. This, as it appears to us, is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of some knowledge, before they can transfer it into their own languages. We trust that the number of such translations will now multiply every year. As the superiority of European learning becomes more generally appreciated, the demand for them will no doubt increase, and we shall be able to encourage any good books which may be brought out in the Native languages by adopting them extensively in our Seminaries.

The proper policy for the furtherance of education, the policy that has in point of fact been always nd ought always to be acted upon is embodied in the foregoing observations. It is the only possible and practicable policy and its reversal at the present moment will prove an irretrieveable misfortune. It implies high English education for the higher and middle classes and primary vernacular education for the lower orders.

In their report on the educational operations for 1837 the General Committee of Public Institutions observes as follows: "A further experience and a more mature consideration of the important subject of education in this country, has led us to adhere to the opinion formerly expressed by us, that our efforts, should be at first concentrated to the Chief Towns or Sudder Stations of districts, and to the improvement of education among the

higher and middling classes of the population, in the expectation that through the agency of these scholars an educational reform will descend to the General Vernacular Schools, and its benefits be rapidly transferred among all those excluded in the first instance by abject want from a participation in its advantages." The expectation of the Committee has been amply fulfilled. I know a host of educated natives who have communicated their knowledge to their less fortunate countrymen in their own language and in the manner and form most acceptable to them. The cry that has been raised against them, that having received a charity education in the Colleges they have done nothing for their country, is an unreasoning cry. Now the truth is exactly the other way. The education they have received is neither a charity education as shown by Mr. Atkinson and by the fact that the Hindoo School and Hare School are nearly self supporting nor is it true that they have failed in their duty as educators. Far from having done nothing they have done a great deal in furtherance of the cause of education. They have been foremost in organising schools, literary Societies, and newspapers, and in promoting and extending popular education in every possible way. Their exertions in this direction have been most indefatigable and laudable, and instead of evoking the obloquy of a clique deserved the lasting gratitude of the public.

"The same policy of imparting European knowledge through the medium of English to the higher orders and through the Vernaculars to the lower orders is confirmed and repeated in the Despatch of the Court of Directors." We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short of European knowledge." "In any general system of education, the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it but such instruction should always be combined with careful attention to the study of the Vernacular languages of India together, as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge; and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all

schools, in India of sufficiently high class to maintain a school master possessing the requisite qualifications."

What the Court of Directors aimed at was the dissemination of western literature and sciences to the people through the media of both the English and vernacular languages, but they never dreamt of separating those two media of instruction but on the contrary contemplated their indissoluble union. It is the Government of India and not the home authorities that now attempt to separate the English and vernacular education, to compare the one with the other, and award the palm of superiority, to "Vernacular education as better calculated for the development of the intellectual faculties." I deny this position as the English language is the key which opens the door to an endless series of secret and an untold treasury of literature, whereas the Bengalee language is still very poor and rude and the curriculum of the Patsalla may be mastered in three years. It is because I look to the Bengallee language being enriched by the lucubrations of the recipients of a high English education that I advocate the diffusion of vernacular education among the masses. At present not only the material advantages but the intellectual advantages are all on the side of English education. To strangle English education would be therefore to arrest progress among all classes and to put back the clock of improvement for an indefinite period.

The resolution, while recognizing the supreme importance of English Education, affirms the necessity of the promotion of Vernacular Educations. But I hope and trust that the primary education which Government proposes to impart should not be exceedingly primary or primitive or infinitessimal in its quantity and quality, but something worthy of the name of education. At a recent meeting of the London Social Science Association, John S. Mill delivered a lecture on National Education, in the course of which he said that education is something more than to read, write and cast accounts. So thinks the leader of English thought. But so does not Mr. Howell think. That acute precis writer says, that it is not intended that the proposed

vernacular schools should elevate the students above their sphere in life. What in the name of goodness and common sense does education aim at but the elevation of its recipients? I would not care a cowrie for an education which would perpetuate ignorance and superstition—an education which would fail to dissipate that intellectual darkness in which the mind of the mass is enshrouded. What is imperatively wanted is an education which will not be a shadow but a substance—an education which will teach not merely words but things—an education which will be both objective and subjective, an education which will teach not only the head but the heart—develop not only the intellectual but the moral and the emotional part of our nature. Education, meaning, as it does, the educing of all our powers, is required for all classes of men and of all countries and climes and creeds and for all time. I, therefore, emphatically repudiate the distinction made by the Resolution between the claims of the higher and those of the lower classes to education. It is as untenable and unreasonable as the comparison made between English and Vernacular Education in favor of the latter. True, English Education is fraught with material advantages, but are they not of importance to a country? Are they not the motive power to education here and elsewhere, in the East as well as in the West? Learning for the sake of learning is a transcendentalism of which most men are innocent. Her votaries are few and to be found among men of exceptional natures and lofty minds hungering and thirsting for knowledge irrespective of any temporal benefits to be derived from the pursuit of the same. Besides, it is necessary that certain classes of men should be placed above want to enable them to pursue knowledge and disseminate it among their fellowmen. Why is it that India and Egypt were the earliest civilized; because, thanks to the fertilizing powers of the Ganges and the Nile, the means of subsistence were abundant.

I would have it distinctly understood that those who have promoted this meeting are not in any sense opposed to the primary education of the masses. Some of them have been most zealous

promoters of education. They have been instrumental in establishing a considerable number of schools and Patsallahs. From them the educational institutions both for the higher and lower classes have derived substantial aid. To their munificence and intelligence must be assigned the credit of advancing and stimulating popular education. I cannot, Sir, conceive how an educated or a civilized man can be insane enough to resist or be indifferent to the education of the masses; for it means every thing. It means, the improvement of the social and political, the mental and the moral condition of the country. It means the material as well as the spiritual well-being of the people. It means the development of our resources and the overthrow of that debasing and demoralising superstition, which has dwarfed and paralysed the powers of the mind. It means the humanization and illumination of the myriad millions forming the basis and body of the social pyramids, In conclusion I would repeat what I declared in 1844 at a public meeting of the native community convened for the purpose of conveying their gratitude to Lord Hardinge for the promulgation of his Educational Resolution of 4th October of that year, giving preference in appointment to public offices to educated over uneducated natives. Educate the people, and they will cease to be fleeced by the *mahajan*, oppressed by the police and victimized by the *amlah*. Educate the people, and they will learn to assert their rights as well as respect their obligations. Educate the people, and the country will soon wear a different aspect and assume her proper position in the scale of nations." *(Loud applause.)*

Baboo Chunder Nath Bose, M. A., (Pleader, High Court) in supporting this resolution spoke as follows :—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I take it to be an axiom that no nation in modern times can make much progress in civilization and material prosperity without a deep and extensive study of the higher branches of knowledge. And I can not believe for a single moment that England, whose own material

prosperity is the result of a long and earnest study of the natural sciences, does not know that India must think and study in the way she herself has done and is doing in order to become great in the world. (*Hear hear.*) I cannot also believe that England does not know that notwithstanding what she has done, she has not yet given anything like a sound and scientific education to the natives of this country. Gentlemen, you all know that the *Englishman* Newspaper lately compared Bengal to a box of lucifer matches, that a high functionary of the State itself —no less a man than Sir Richard Temple—recently declared at a meeting over which he presided, that the education of our countrymen was extremely poor and extremely unsatisfactory. (*Hear hear.*) Now, Gentlemen, what does all this mean? Surely it implies that our rulers know that they have not yet given us anything like education. What then is the meaning of the proposed educational policy? Is there any colour of reason in the proposal to withdraw all State assistance from high English Education? Whatever be the answer returned to this question *here*, I am sure, Gentlemen, enlightened Europe will return a strong *negative* to it. (*Hear, hear.*) Then again, is it not known to our rulers that the few attempts at social improvement which we have hitherto made have only proved that the education which we have received is singularly unsound, singularly unscientific, singularly unpractical? I think, Gentlemen, I have a right to assume that all Englishmen in India and the Government of India in particular, know all this and something more. (*Hear, hear.*) I have a right to assume that our rulers know that the Natives, in order to be able to civilize themselves, must be provided with far better education than they have yet received. Why then this warfare against High Education, this unwillingness to deprive us of the paltry sum of six or seven lacs of rupees? I am sure many will say that I am wrong in using the word "warfare" in speaking of the proposed withdrawal of the State-grant from high education, because I have heard it said in certain quarters that as the Resolution of the Government of India is based on the supposi-

tion that the higher and middle classes are now capable of educating themselves, it would be a serious mistake to think that the Government intends to discourage or put down English Education altogether. But, Gentlemen, in spite of all that people may say against this view of the question, I will repeat most emphatically that the Government of India *does* contemplate warfare against High Education. Does not the Government of India know that the paltry sum of six or seven lacs, which it has determined not to give us, would be but as a drop in the ocean, considering that the entire cost of educating the masses of Bengal alone must amount to forty or forty-five lacs of rupees? (*Hear, hear.*) Does not our Government know that the great middle classes of Bengal are crying out from one end of the country to the other, honestly, earnestly and piteously, that they are as yet incapable of educating themselves? And will the Government deny us five or six lacs in spite of all our entreaties and exhortations? Gentlemen, we all have a right to ask our paternal Government why it grudges us only a few lacs for the education of our children and our children's children. For myself, Gentlemen, I cannot conceive any reasonable answer to these questions—the resolution of the Government of India seems to me a riddle more intricate than any that human ingenuity ever devised. (*Hear, hear*).

But, Gentlemen, we must not, in our advocacy of high education, forget mass education altogether. Yes, Gentlemen, mass education is said to be desirable. Perhaps it is so; but I cannot believe for a moment that it will produce quite a social and intellectual millennium as some seem to think. I will, however, in the name of common sense, ask you to consider whether it would be possible to work out the gigantic system of popular education contemplated by the Government of India without a *highly-educated native* agency. Look at the Patshallas system. This system, Gentlemen, as you all know, was planned by the late Sir John Peter Grant for the education of the lowest classes of the community, and it is perhaps superfluous to add that it has

attained to a considerable degree of development within the eight or ten years that it has been in existence. But I will exhort every Englishman residing in India to tell me whether this Patshalla system, which is meant for the lower orders of the people, could have attained so much excellence—nay more—could at all have been organised, unless there had been in the country a man like Babu Bhoodeb Mookerjea, gifted with vast intellectual powers, unfailing energy and uncommon force of character, and possessing, as he does, a truly philosophical acquaintance with the manners, customs and institutions of the people. If not, should it not be manifest to you, Gentlemen, that it would require thousands of Bhoodebs with a hundred thousand well-educated Deputy Inspectors beneath them to educate and to superintend the education of the countless population of India, a country of truly continental dimensions? *(Hear, hear.)* Then again, Gentlemen, is it not clear that the condition of the masses would not be bettered a bit without technical education?—that the people must have some knowledge of the practical arts in order to be able to make their lot a little more happy and contented than it is at present? But has the Government, I ask, given us any scientific education whatever?—has the Government yet enabled us to produce one single man who is fitted to instruct the masses in the industrial arts? Gentlemen, it is no doubt humiliating to you to confess there is none amongst you who is fitted to do this. But you can rest assured that your humiliation is nothing to the humiliation which England will suffer in the eyes of the civilized world, when the enlightened nations of the West shall come to know that the Great British Nation, while attempting to sympathise with the vast mass of their subjects in Asia, had *deliberately* and *determinedly* abandoned the one indispensable method of doing them good. *(Hear, hear.)* Gentlemen, I have done. But before resuming my seat, I will inform you, with very great pleasure indeed, that my brother graduates of the University of Calcutta fully sympathise with the object for which this Meeting has been convened. *(Loud cheers.)*

Mr. Broadley then rose and said :—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—Through the courtesy of your President, I rejoice that one Englishman at least will have an opportunity of placing on record his sympathy with the object of this important Meeting. On no common occasion would I have ventured to intrude my observations upon you, but I am now led to do so by the paramount importance of the subject to your country and to mine. When I say, Gentlemen, to your country and to mine, I do not mean to England and to Bengal—I refer to Bengal alone. I do not admit that the accident of birth settles definitely the final nationality of a man, I believe it to be determined rather by the country in which he spends the active years of his life and in which his influence is felt for weal or for woe—for good or for bad. My lot has been cast in Bengal, the working days of my existence will be spent amongst the Bengalis, and for this reason, I say, your country is my country. I believe most sincerely that the object of this Meeting is the good of our mutual country. Let us look back thirty years to the days of Lord William Bentinck, and compare Bengal of his time with Bengal of to-day. What a wonderful change meets our view! Look at the science of medicine or the science of engineering, for instance, and the change—the change for the better—strikes us at once. If proof is wanted that High Education has done much for Bengal. I find it in the possibility of such a meeting as we see assembled to-day. But because we have done much, it is no reason we should not advance further, and I cannot, I dare not believe, that the Government having helped to teach us to walk, will abandon us before it has taught us to run. Gentlemen, I will not and I cannot believe this to be the intention, or even the policy of Government. I have not spent all my days in England. I have travelled over many of the countries of Europe and without wishing to flatter you in the slightest degree, I must say in my humble estimation there is no nation under the sun, which has appreciated the English language so much as the natives of this country. I have but one more word to say and that is, with reference to a remark which fell from the lips of one of the

speakers, to the effect that Government was about to withdraw the aid it had previously given to High Education, because three or four native gentlemen had been successful in competing for the Civil Service of India—a service to which, I am proud to say, I belong. Gentlemen, I am assured such a mean—I may almost say despicable—idea has never entered for one moment into the minds of the rulers of this country. I am certain, when these gentlemen return from England, there will not be one of them, who will not tell his brethren in this country, how keenly he is sensible of the kind treatment he has received in the distant West; and though a few might be jealous of their success, yet the best and ablest men of England—men like Dean Stanley, were only too glad to hold out to those Bengali youths, first the cordial hand of welcome, and secondly the equally cordial hand of heartfelt congratulation. May their success be an incentive to others to follow in their footsteps! Gentlemen, I cannot conscientiously take up more of your time, but before I resume my seat, I must assure you that there is no person here, who sympathises more deeply with the object of this meeting than myself.

Carried.

Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee said :—

I beg to move the third Resolution, which is as follows :—3. That while by the spread of a high and liberal education by means of the English language the British Government would most fully accomplish its mission in this country, it would at the same time derive from it most important economic advantages; inasmuch as it would thereby lessen the cost of administration; would greatly facilitate commerce; would render its laws intelligible to all classes, and would establish a bond of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled."

The Resolution speaks for itself. No act of the British Government in India has done more to reconcile the people to a foreign rule and to conduce to its own stability in this country on a firm, rational, and economical basis than the support which it has hitherto given to the diffusion of a high and liberal edu-

cation among the people. However limited that support may be, and however disproportionate to the immense revenues of the country, it has succeeded in bringing about results which have been of no small importance to the country. To the Government itself the advantages accruing from the spread of education have not been insignificant, and in fact, the system which has been hitherto pursued has tended mainly to train up young men for the different departments of the public service. The country has only just awakened to the necessity of a reform, which will recognise the cultivation of the physical sciences not only as the proper discipline to the highly inductive character of the Hindu mind, but also as the means which will enable the people of this country to develop those vast agricultural and commercial resources, for which the country has always stood pre-eminent. If Government be therefore really earnest in its professions of regenerating the country and qualifying its people for a higher state of social and political existence, it should allot a larger share of its revenues to meet this increasing demand for high education. The material benefits which the country has derived from the British Government and all that is noble and praiseworthy in the progress of the people are due to English education, and it is not too much to ask our enlightened Government to complete the work which it has so nobly begun. Even on the low consideration of £. s. and d. the economic advantages to the Government from the spread of high education among the people have been immense. They have repaid a thousand fold the costs that have been incurred for it. It is difficult to conceive what would have been the financial position of the Government and what the burden of taxation imposed on the people, if the numerous appointments which are now held by educated natives in the various departments of the administration had to be filled and recruited by men brought out from England. But thanks to English Education, the cost of administration has been limited to a no small degree by the employment of native agency. Whether in the Judicial, Executive, Medical, Engineering or Education service, or in the department of Public Accounts, the

natives have been every-where found to be fully equal to any position in which they have been placed, and it is easy to imagine the amount of saving which they cause to the Government, which commands their services at less than one-third the cost which would have been otherwise incurred. I might quote, as an illustration, the case of the districts of Hooghly and Howrah, in which the services of two Covenanted Judges cost the State more than the services of the three Subordinate Judges and nine Moonsiffs taken together. The disparity of cost with regard to the executive service is equally apparent. English education has not, however, simply saved the State an enormous portion of its cost of administration. It has as well saved the country from the horrors of taxation which, under a highly paid administrative agency, would have assumed a form, which it is fearful even to contemplate.

The means which English Education affords for an intelligent appreciation of the policy and wisdom of legislative enactments and executive measures of the State have been no less beneficial to the Government and the people. Nothing could be more desirable for the peace and stability of an empire than such an appreciation by the people, and the history of the British administration in India has amply shown that circumstances which have led to a constitutional representation of their grievances on the part of the English educated people of Bengal have given rise to indications of disloyalty and even to a disregard of lawful authority and outbursts of violence in less favored parts of the country. Vernacular schools were attached to every native regiment, but they did not save the army from the horrors of the Sepoy Mutiny. Ignorance is the mother of evil, but primary education such as is advocated by the Vernacularists, will not dissipate that ignorance. Indeed, it has always been my opinion, that if the Subadars and Havildars Majors and the Native Officers of the Sepoy Regiments as a body had been educated in English, and understood the character of British rule and of the British nation, they would not have swerved an inch from their oyalty. Lastly, English education is gradually making the

people of this country familiar with the character, history, and institutions of Englishmen, and thereby creating a bond of sympathy between the two nations, which will be productive of the happiest results to both. The political advantages of English education cannot be therefore too highly valued, and it is a matter of surprise that in the face of these obvious advantages a proposal should be even for a moment entertained for gradually diminishing, if not altogether withdrawing, all State support for English Education, and thus striking at its foundation the most cruel blow which it is possible to conceive. That the proposal should have been made with a view to provide funds for giving elementary instruction to the masses, takes away nothing from its character. In the absence of a sufficient appreciation of the benefits of English Education by a majority of the higher and middle classes of the people in the interior of the country, it is easy to see that the time has not arrived when English Education will be entirely supported by the people themselves, and that the proposed measure, if carried out, will put a serious check to the cause of education and to the further progress of the country. The education, which on the other hand it is proposed to give to the masses, will, in the absence of all demand for it, meet with every possible obstacle in its way, and even if successfully carried out will, from its extremely elementary character, be of little avail either to the country or to the people themselves. Even without such education the masses are being gradually improved through the medium, and by the example of those who have received English Education, and to whose influence, direct and indirect, does the country owe that gradual spread of a desire for education, and that perceptible diffusion of liberal ideas in matters of sociology, politics, and religion, which are daily becoming more and more apparent. The proposed measure would reverse this natural course of things. Fotunately, however, we have, at the head of our local administration, a statesman, who, under the most critical circumstances, has not hesitated to advocate the cause of high education with an enlightened zeal and masterly ability,

and I sincerely hope that the rumour of His Honor's intention to lay down ere long the burden of office has no foundation in truth. The state of my health will not permit me to say more, but I am sure that the Gentlemen who will second and support the Resolution will do it full justice. Allow me, however, to say one word. Let it not be supposed from what I have said this day that I am in the least opposed to the education of the masses. It might be egotistical to say so, but as I have never spared money to assist in the diffusion of education, among the masses, and in the promotion of their general welfare, I hope that that fact will protect me from any such insinuation. All that I wish is that English and Vernacular Education should go hand in hand, and that nothing should be done to starve the English institutions for the sake of feeding vernacular schools. *(Applause.)*

Dr. Mahendralala Sircar spoke as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—In rising to second the Resolution just moved, I must tell you, I do so with considerable hesitation, and that, Sir, on more accounts than one. I am afraid, my appearance this evening is likely to be ascribed by those who do not know me and who have not appreciated the significance of this Meeting, I am afraid, Sir, my appearance with you will be ascribed to motives other than those which actuate me. I might be suspected of being in league with the British Indian Association, with the Zemindars of Bengal, against the masses of Bengal. Gentlemen, allow me to tell you, and I am proud to tell you, I am a veritable plebeian myself, sprung from the masses, from the class of tillers of the soil, primæval Zemindars if you like. I would not have come to this Meeting had I not believed that the abolition of English Education, which would inevitably follow if the schooling rates of Government Institutions were increased by the fiat of Government, would doom the masses to a state of perpetual misery and perpetual ignorance. I would not have lent my influence to this Meeting, infinitessimal as I know that influence to be, I would not have lent my influence,

Sir, if I had not believed that by convening this Meeting the British Indian Association has done a noble act of duty, the noblest it has done since its foundation—a duty not only towards itself, but towards the Government and the masses, the so-called lower orders.

I have hesitation on another ground. It is due to myself to tell you, Gentlemen, and that I am altogether unaccustomed to speaking in public. And I must tell you also, that I feel paralysed by the sight of this grand gathering no less than by the suffocating air, ay, and by the suffocating eloquence of the speakers that have preceded me. I am therefore afraid that my incompetency, aggravated by a sort of physical and mental paralysis under which I am laboring, might tend to mar the effect of the brilliant oratory that has just preceded, and the no less brilliant oratory that, I have reason to expect from the names of the eminent and practised speakers still in the programme, will follow. I shall therefore be short, leaving those who come after me to be sweet and eloquent.

And gentlemen, I can afford to be short. From what has fallen from the lips of the venerable mover of the resolution which I have the honor to second, I think it is scarcely necessary for me to say much in support of it. In fact, the resolution which I have to second embodies a series of truisms which need only to be expressed in order to be assented to. It is enough to tell you that the necessity in an utilitarian point of view of State support to High Education is being seriously felt and warmly discussed in England, in spite of what is known abroad of her civilization, of the advances made by her *savants* in various departments of the sciences. Matthew Arnold, in his Report on the Secondary Education on the continent, relates an amusing conversation with a scientific friend, a mechanician and a mathematician. On remarking to him that "in one department at least, that of mechanics and engineering, we seemed, in spite of the absence of special schools and the idea of science, to get on wonderfully well," he received the following reply:— "On the contrary we get on wonderfully ill. Our Engineers

have no real scientific instruction, and we let them learn their business at our expense by the rule of the thumb; but it is a ruinous system of blunder and plunder. A man without the requisite scientific knowledge undertakes to build a difficult bridge; he builds three which tumble down, and so learns to build a fourth which stands; but somebody pays for the three failures." In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, Gentlemen, that somebody is the State, and whence does the State derive the money to pay for the blunders of its officials, but from the life-blood of the masses in the ultimatum? If such, Gentlemen, be the state of engineering science in England, what is the state of that science, or of any science, likely to be here?

India, Sir, is emphatically a land of famines and epidemics. And how are these calamities, which have sadly become so frequent of late, to be averted, except by a profound knowledge of natural laws, a thorough acquaintance with the medical and the collateral sciences? And how can these sciences be best cultivated except on the basis of High Education by which, of course, I mean High English Education? Ask the Professors of the Medical College, and they will tell you how sorely they feel the want of a High English Education in their pupils. Now, will Government derive no economical benefits, if famines and epidemics are averted? What is Government without the people? And how can any Government prosper without its subjects prospering also?' These are truisms which require no demonstration.

But why need we multiply arguments to show that the British Government itself will derive economical advantages from the spread of a sound and liberal English Education? Is it not under moral obligations to educate the people of India? Has not the British nation, in the fact of its possession of India, a most solemn and sacred trust,—the regeneration of a vast dependency, of the once glorious Hindu nation, the re-awakening to life and liberty of upwards of one hundred and eighty millions of souls? Would not England's true glory consist, not in simply holding under subjection the people of India, but in

elevating them in the scale of nations, in taking them by the hand, and reconciling them to their long alienated brethren, her own children? Let us see, Sir, if England is not under the highest moral responsibility to do all this. What would you think of the physician who undertakes the treatment of a case of apoplexy—and it matters not whether he has been called to treat the case, or comes across it by pure accident, whether he is paid for his services or not,—what would you think of this gentleman, if, after attending upon the patient for a time and succeeding in restoring him to consciousness, he abandons him? Would you justify him, would you exculpate him from the heavy moral delinquency, if he were to tell you that he has placed medicines within reach of the patient, nay that he has placed medicines in his very hands? The patient has indeed been restored to his consciousness, but he continues in a state of paralysis. He sees the medicines that will do him good, but he cannot stretch forth his arms to catch hold of them, or, if indeed they have been placed in his hands, he cannot lift those hands to his mouth. Now, is not the relationship of England to India exactly parallel to that of our supposed physician to his patient with infinitely heavier and more solemn responsibilities? It is only a few years back that England appeared in India in the shape of a few merchants or traders. God, in his Providence, converts these traders into governors and kings, their balance-rod into a sceptre, a sceptre, Sir, which now sways the destinies of one of the fairest regions on the face of the globe. And when England assumed the sovereignty of India, what was the condition of the latter? Was she not lying, as it were, in the stupor of apoplexy, which has been upon her for centuries without number, paralysed in all her energies, and rotting in her very vitals from wounds inflicted upon her delicate frame by a succession of the most despotic and tyrannizing conquerors? The Anglo-Saxon of those days who represented England, out of the abundance of the milk of human kindness in them,—and am I to suppose and believe that that milk has been dried up from the heart of the Anglo-Saxon

of the present,—the Anglo Saxon of those days, England's faithful and dutiful sons, out of this abundance of kindness, took compassion upon India's deplorable condition, the deplorable condition of a nation, which, at a time when the rest of the world was sunk in primæval barbarism, produced philosophers unsurpassed by the philosophers of Greece,—orators, (I beg your pardon, orators we had none), warriors, who could compare with the warriors of Rome,—and a system of religion, Sir, the noblest that the world has produced, inasmuch as it was the most humanising, the most elevating, because the most spiritualising,—the Anglo-Saxon of those days, sent to our rescue by God's merciful providence, saw and took compassion upon our deplorable condition, and, Sir, nobly set themselves to work for our improvement. Under the stimulus of education in Western literature and science, and under the healing balsam of a benign and fostering Government, improvement does take place, and takes place most rapidly and almost unexpectedly. The apoplectic stupor of ages is broken. The people recover their consciousness. They begin to perceive their own sad condition, which is one of absolute paralysis of all their energies. And it is at this moment, Gentlemen, that our Government has determined upon withdrawing that aid which has, in the course of so short a time, worked so mighty and beneficial a change in our condition. But mighty and beneficial as that change is, it is far from being what it ought to be, what with the continuance of that aid, it will ere long be.' That we continue still paralysed, Sir, the fact of this Meeting abundantly testifies, and it testifies to the lasting glory of English Education and the lasting shame of ourselves. If English Education had produced all its effects upon the gentry and aristocracy of the land, would not they have come forward with open purses and liberal hands to endow colleges and schools, instead of holding Prayer Meetings like this? Would they not have said to our rulers, "Well you are lacking in your duty, but we have been too well taught by yourselves, to lack in ours?"

Is further evidence wanted to shew that English Education has not yet borne full fruits? I beseech you, see it in the

progress which the Science Association Movement has made. I had the honor to inaugurate that movement upwards of six months ago, and in the course of these six months, I have been able to get in my list only Rs. 13,500 as the amount of subscription in aid of an institution which will cost at least a lac of rupees for being started, an institution which will redound as much to our credit, as to the glory of our rulers? And, Sir, who are they who have come forward in aid of this Movement? Are they the ignorant and the uneducated zemindars who have not yet learnt the use of their wealth? Are they not the educated zemindars and patrons of education? But how few their number is, the Subscription List shows, and it shows therefore most conclusively that the time has not yet arrived for Government to withhold its aid from High Education, if indeed at any stage of education, Government ought to withhold its aid from it. There are other speakers, gentlemen, to come after me, and I cannot now trespass on your time by dilating on the limits of the functions of Government in a philosophical point of view, but I believe that it will remain unquestioned to the end of time that one of the primary functions of all enlightened Governments is the organization of education, of education in the highest sense of the term. *(Loud and continued cheering.)*

Baboo Jadu Natha Ghosha rose and said :—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—Though my name does not occur in the list of the speakers elect for this evening, yet I hope you will allow me the indulgence to say a few words in support of the resolution just seconded by my friend Dr. Sircar. I shall be as brief as possible so as not to unnecessarily trespass upon your valuable time by vain attempts at oratory. Gentlemen, I disclaim all pretensions to eloquence and would have certainly remained silent in this Assembly, were I not impelled by a strong sense of duty to contribute my mite of protestation against what I cannot help believing a most seriously calamitous measure threatened by our rulers to be carried out to the ruin of the most cheering prospects of pro-

gress, peace and prosperity of our father-land. Gentlemen, the proposed policy of the British Indian Government in the Education Department to encourage the so-called mass education at the expense of the higher culture of the country seems to me as short-sighted as it is singularly ungraceful. I cannot better illustrate it than by applying to it one of our homely Bengali proverbs, the wit and wisdom of which so recently engaged the attention of the foremost friend of the masses, the Rev. Mr. Long. This policy is an instance of "গরু মেরে জুতা দান" (*Garu maray juta dan*) "giving away shoes by killing cows." Who can deny the merit of the gift of shoes to the Brahmin? And yet, whatever be the quality and quantity of that merit, few orthodox Hindus will dare acquire it at the risk of incurring the enormous sin of destroying the sacred animal in gratitude to whose milk it is so tenderly treated. A few pairs of shoes into which the cow's hide is capable of being converted are no doubt necessary conveniences of civilized life, but what sane man will therefore sacrifice his milchcow to subserve such a purpose! When animals of this class die a natural death—and there is no dearth of such occurrences in this death-stricken world—there is plenty of materials for the shoe maker to use. Cow-poisoning, the not uncommon crime of Bengali *Moochies* (shoe-makers) to promote the briskness of their trade, cannot certainly be permitted to be perpetrated with impunity even if the extreme alternative were for people to walk barefooted. When the highest education of that portion of our population which is capable of profiting by it had been so amply provided for by the voluntary endowments of private liberality as to disengage the public grants, at this moment absolutely necessary, barely to keep it body and soul together, it would be time enough for diverting the State funds devoted to this end to further the cause of mass education. I am extremely humiliated to find that those statesmen, holding some of the best-paid offices in the gift of her Britannic Majesty in India, who are the loudest in support of mass education, have not yet shewn a single example of their real earnestness by coming forward with their private liberality to set free the State funds for purposes which they hold

to be imperatively demanding Government support. Why have not we an Indian Wykeham in Lord Lawrence, or why will not grateful science still adore her Mayo's holy" *name* within the walls of an Indain Eton? When our Governors-General and Secretaries of State—not to mention minor functionaries—set the example of founding and endowing collegiate institutions in a country, the lion's share of whose resources are absorbed in their salaries and allowances, our Zemindars and Rajahs and merchant princes, might be expected to follow these blatant bell-wethers in the path of raising the standard of national education in India. Till then the pseudo *Friend of India's* howlings week after week in support of mass education at the expense of high education should be suffered, as its maudlin sentimentality well deserves, to fall flat upon the ear of all right-thinking men. The English Government in India might not be inaptly likened to an agriculturist having immeasurable intellectual fields to cultivate. Its wisest policy has hitherto been not to fritter away its resources in attempting to grasp soils of inferior degrees of fertility almost verging upon barrenness as was singularly demonstrated by the almost complete failure of the one hundred and one Bengali Patshallas established by orders of Lord Hardinge in 1844, and as the senseless supporters of mass education to the neglect of a higher one would fondly wish it to be again guilty of, but to till those portions of its wide domains which promised the richest harvest How rich the harvest has been even its bitterest enemies dare not deny. What is the plain path of duty for it at present to pursue? Not surely to abandon these blooming gardens to be run over by brambles and jungles of ignorance and superstition under the idea that they are *tulip* gardens, which it is immaterial to take further care of, indeed if not continued folly any longer to cherish, but really to value them as fittest *nurseries* for supplying seeds and seedlings to advance the tillage of wider regions heretofore lying fallow for lack of tillers and tools. Our English Colleges and Schools are alone capable of furthering popular education on a sound basis. It is they that will supply the latter with efficient and well-informed teachers and readable

and healthy literature. Any scheme that would suffer English education to droop and die before it had taken deeper root in the soil than it yet seems to have done, before in fact the little nursery, to which the existing high educational institutions may be properly compared when viewed in reference to the vast fields to be sown by their aid, has been transformed into an intellectual Sunderban where exotic science and indigenous literature will continue to flourish side by side in all their native luxuriance not needing artificial aid, let no real Friend of India think of starving out its goodly growth by drying up its sap-producing moisture supplied in the shape of State support. Mass education, unless fostered by men who have themselves been benefitted by high English culture, will be only another instance of blunder and plunder in the department of education more than the one noticed by Dr. Sircar in the Department of Engineering. Unless so carefully looked after as soundly educated natives and their equally well-educated philanthropic European fellow subjects alone can do, this scheme will be merely a means of proselytizing in the hands of those Christian Missionaries with whom the end sanctifies the means—such an abuse of public funds, tho' jealously watched over by the nation, whose highest interests it affects is not seldom perpetrated to their not small mortification and to the eternal discredit of that theoretically impartial British Government in India, who are unwittingly made a party to the guilt of using the unbeliever's hardwrought money to the perversion of his kith and kin. Is not this an illustration of our adage, " তোর শিল তোর নড়া তোরি ভাঙ্গি দাঁতের গোড়া" (*thore sil thore nora, thoree vangee danter gora*)—it is your own grinding stones do I use to root your teeth out of your gums ?" If, however, there would be no such thing to fear in the missionary management of mass-education in future, I would only be agreeably surprized, (some body prompted the speaker, deceived,) deceived if you like, gentlemen, if I make mistakes in the correct use of English words, I only furnish a fresh proof that the work of English Education in Bengal is by no means so complete as to be independent of public support.

One word more and I shall cease to take up your time. It appears to me somewhat inexplicable that at the present moment when nearly the whole work of Government is carried on in English, when in the administration of justice in the highest Court in the land English is the sole medium to the subversion of Persian and Urdu or any other native language, and again when there is so little likelihood of English soon making room for Bengali in these departments, as Norman-French did in favor of English in the days of Edward I., why is the culture of English to be discountenanced! Gentlemen, let not our Government be guilty of putting the cart before the horse, let it first make the Governing classes capable of understanding the people's vernacular before that vernacular is allowed to supersede the language of the ruling class in the work of education, which rightly understood is but an apprenticeship to the duties of life. And unless Government means (which is far from its intention) to shut out its native subjects from the benefits of foreign commerce both in regard to exchange of the produce of the soil and of thoughts, as well as from the service of their mother-country in those higher posts were a knowledge of English will yet be deemed a *sine qua non* qualification, let it by no act of its own discourage the cultivation of English and thereby make its motives liable to be misconstrued. The Hindus in the acme of their power disallowed any but the twice-born the privilege of studying Sanscrit literature, let not our present rulers be guilty of a like selfish policy. If it is still necessary to teach Latin, the language of the Roman Conquerors of England, in schools in England, ay in the Grammar schools were certainly the humbler classes and not the *elite* of England are taught, let English be yet awhile cultivated in our schools as extensively as there is means for its teaching and desire for its acquisition. (*Applause*)

Carried.

Baboo Issur Chunder Ghosal said:

GENTLEMEN,—I have great pleasure in moving the 4th Resolution with which I have been entrusted. It is as follows:

'That in no civilized country are the great seminaries of learning supported solely by payments from the students; and the principle everywhere acknowledged that it is the duty and interest of the State to encourage a liberal education, is applicable with still greater force in India, where the class of students is poor in comparison to that of any other country, and where the necessity of keeping up a staff of European Professors greatly increases the cost of education.

I will not inflict upon you a long harangue at this late hour and even if I wished it, the state of my health would not permit the exercise; and the eloquence of the gentlemen who have already addressed you is a further warning that I should not trespass upon grounds which have already been trodden. I shall therefore be as brief as possible, and I doubt not that my shortcomings will be more than made up by my learned friends who will follow me. It is sufficient to state that we are all agreed as to the vast importance of the subject, and the immense advantage and benefit which both the governors and the governed derive from a community of languages. Indeed, gentlemen, I estimate the value of this bond of mutual sympathy between the rulers and ruled, so highly that it is difficult to express adequately my feeling, and it would I think be the height of impolicy —a dereliction of duty and something worse if either party were to cast away this priceless jewel that is now within our grasp.

My learned friend, who seconded the first Resolution has shewn to you that both the nations of Europe and America consider it the first duty of Government to impart a high and liberal education to their subjects, he has also shewn to you the difference in the cost of education between Germany and England on the one hand and India on the other. If we look to the nations of the East, the Egyptians, Arabs, Persians, and Turks, we find that they have carried the idea of State Education further than the nations of the West, for they not only find Professors in their Emambaras and Mudrasas for the education of the people, but also food, raiment, and lodging and sometimes even stipends in case of poor and meritorious students. In China they go still

further, for every ten of nobility in that country is a diploma from one of their colleges, an example worthy to be followed by nations who call themselves better civilized. Again, if we look to our own country, we find that it was the glory of our ancient kings to be always surrounded by a galaxy of learned men of the highest. Indeed a Hindoo Prince, intellect who did not encourage learning, was held in such disrepute that no priest would accept his gifts. Even now amongst our learned Pundits it is a rule which not one of their body dares break through to educate the students who attend their class free of all expense. We are all aware, however, that the code of social laws amongst the Hindus is so closely interwoven with their religious system that knowledge, though so greatly encouraged, was divided amongst the different castes which composed the community. One caste had theology and philosophy and astronomy for their special study, another caste had entrusted to them the study of medicine and physics, another was entrusted with the study of the science of navigation and commerce, and so on, but the professors of each class of learning had always the support of the State for the prosecution of their studies and the diffusion of such knowledge as they had charge of.

It has been remarked by some that though amongst the ancient Hindus education like mercy was doubly blessed, he that received as well as he that bestowed it, by large endowments and grants of land, that spirit has not yet shewn itself amongst the people of the present day in the encouragements of Western learning. These gentlemen, forget that a nation that has become dormant like the present Hindus through various causes cannot be resuscitated in a day. Let Western civilization exercise the same influence over the nation which religion did of old: and I doubt not the stream of benefactions will flow freely as when the Sanscrit was the language of the people. I must not omit however to mention here that our Universities though only 15 years old have already received endowments of no mean character. It must also be recollected that we are not only building a new civilization but uprooting one, which, though effete at

the present day, is national, day of glory and is still surrounded by the halo of many old associations. This is no easy task in any country, and it is peculiarly difficult in India where the good has degenerated into bad, and the prejudices owing to the subject position of the nation have become highly intensified. It has therefore become to them a shield against all foreign interference, and the only source of combination left to the people. It has therefore become to them almost a privilege, and they tenaciously hold to it as such.

Though the old Hindu College, if it had existed, would have now been nearly fifty years old, the Government system of education on a comprehensive plan commenced only in 1855-56 when the celebrated despatch of the Court of Directors came into operation. In that year the number of Anglo-Vernacular Schools was only 25 and that of Vernacular schools 54. The last published Education Report of Bengal for 1868-69 shews that within these fifteen years the former has increased to 670 and the latter to 2962 and the number of students has alo increased in the same proportion. If this is not progress I do not know what that is. The cost of education in Bengal and the answer to the charge of charity education have been so well set forth by my learned friend Babu Rajendralala Mittra that I will not take up your time by repeating what he has said. If Government is determined not to give an English education in other words liberal education except at a cost which would be beyond the means of the middle class, I for one would propose that they withdraw from the field of English education altogether. Let them ride their Vernacular hobby with the mass. Then the middle and higher classes would have an opportunity of combining knowing what to do for the education of their children. And here let me ask you what has hitherto been the policy of the Government on this important subject. You all remember the fate of the Hindu Metropolitan College, founded by my philanthropic friend Babu Rajendra Dutt. Would that College have met with a premature death, if the Government had not stood out in formidable rivalry? Again, only the

other day my respected friend Pundit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagor sought to raise his excellent Calcutta school, the Metropolitan Institution, to the ranks of a College, but the Syndicate of the University refused to affiliate it. Similarly my public-spirited friend Babu Joykrishna Mookerjee offered to convert the Ootterpara School into a College and to endow it handsomely and applied to Government for such aid as was accorded to Missionary Colleges, but our enlightened Government declined to comply with his request. This is the way the Government meets private efforts for promoting liberal education and yet we are taunted for not exercising self-reliance! *(Cheers.)*

The principle of an education tax or cess is in all civilized countries connected with the system of compulsory and gratuitous education. Is our Government prepared to go that length, remembering that the Rulers and the Ruled in this country differ widely in race, religion, and feeling, and particularly that our Missionary friends are sure to have the lion's share of the work with a view to swell the flock of so-called Christian converts. I do not blame the Missionaries, for it is their vocation. I mean to make as many prosylytes as they can, but will it be wise on the part of the Government to adopt an educational policy, which will render their motives liable to be misunderstood and misinterpreted? I may however here tell their proper vocation is preaching and not politics. And is not the fee contribution from the people for educating their children a cess more equitable and more elastic and less harassing than any direct tax would be? Public spirit in paying for the benefit of others is no doubt commendable, but surely no one likes to give charity under compulsion and to see his hearth and home sold in default.

Again, it needs be remembered that the cost of English education in India is greatly enhanced by the employment of European Professors, but that is unavoidable. European knowledge without European Professors to impart it would be like a body without a soul. Our native teachers are no doubt efficient to a certain degree, but will they be able to impart that spirit to

their pupils, which a European is alone fitted to do by reason of his having acquired it with almost his mother's milk. English teachers are certainly more expensive than those imported from other European countries, and if the worst should come to the worst I would certainly recommend the employment of these cheap European teachers. In conclusion, gentlemen, I must thank the British Government for what they have already done for diffusing European knowledge amongst us and I would beseech them not to make English education an exceptional advantage for the benefit of the rich only. If they do not approve of the present system of English education, let them give it up altogether, for in that case as I have said before the rich and the middle class would be placed on an equal footing. Gentlemen, I do yet hope that the Government will prove more generous than they profess to be. I have known the British notion long enough not to know that they value public discussion and are never slow to profit by it. I have therefore no doubt that our united voice lifted from one end of the country to the other will have due influence upon our rulers. The warm sympathy which Mr. Broadley has manifested this evening even my humble opinion is a sufficient indication that the Bengal Civilians at least stand by us in the hour of our misfortune, and their help I feel confident will carry us a long way. (*Applause.*)

Baboo Amarendra Nauth Chatterjee,—B. L. Pleader, High Court, in seconding the 4th Resolution, said, he would not detain the meeting long at that hour of the evening, it being 5 minutes to 6 o'clock. Nor had he much to say, as the question had been discussed thread-bare by the able speakers who have gone before him. The subject however was so tempting that even at that late hour he would claim their indulgence for a few minutes. It has been said that the money question lies at the root of the Resolution of the Government, but that question had always been before the Home Government in England. It was before the Court of Directors when that honorable body rejected the

proposal of Lord Hardinge's Government for the establishment of the Universities in India. The Court of Directors in their reply to Lord Hardinge's Government expressly mentioned that although they considered it was the duty of Government to render the utmost aid to the intellectual advancement of the people by a wide and extensive diffusion of a sound and liberal English education, and that to the furtherance of that object, it would be highly desirable to found the universities proposed by the Indian Government, still the establishment of the universities would necessarily entail an amount of expenditure, the State could not bear. Such was the reason which had led the Government of the Hon'ble the East India Company to hold back. But, happily, the Hon'ble Court of Directors came to a different conclusion in 1854; and its despatch of that year to the Government of Lord Dalhousie, sanctioning the establishment of the universities, and laying down for the guidance of the Indian Government an elaborate and comprehensive scheme for the education of the people, has, therefore, been appropriately termed by an able Historian of India as the intellectual Charter of the people of India (Loud Cheers.) Since that time, the resources of the State have vastly improved ; commerce has expanded ; peace and tranquillity reigned over the land. Was this then the time for the Government to put forth the plea of necessity and disown its most sacred responsibility? He, the speaker, here dwelt upon the intellectual condition of the country in Lord William Bentinck's time, and referred the Government to Mr. Adam's Report on the state of Education in Bengal in 1834. The importance of a sound and liberal English education has for the last quarter of a century been in great demand with the people. Time was, no doubt, when religious fears prevented people from availing themselves of it. But its great importance and absolute necessity, on at least political considerations, were unquestioned. He would refer the Meeting to Rajah Ram Mohun Roy's letter to Lord Amherst, in which that far seeing philosopher and philanthropist urged upon the Governor General the claims of the people to a useful English Education. He,

the speaker, would not care to discuss the comparative advantages of an English and a Vernacular Education. But one fact was patent to us all—Anglicists and Orientalists would, at any rate, agree in this, that more Vernacular Education would not raise the people of this country on a level with their English Rulers. (Loud cries of Hear Hear.) No Vernacular Education would render people qualified for the high offices in the State. And it is a duty of the British Government to throw open offices of distinction to the people of this country, if they are qualified for same.

It is said that the Government ought not to encourage English education, because people seek for and pursue it in order that they may better their prospects in life. He, the speaker, did not think it was at all necessary to consider this objection. It was futile and puerile ; it carried its own refutation. Nobody would doubt for a moment that Education is universally sought for the sake of material advantages. Of Sanscrit knowledge alone it could be said that it was pursued for its own sake A more disinterested class of students could not be found than the ancient Rishies of India. But such was not the spirit of modern civilizations. And yet the love of knowledge for its own sake was not altogether wanting among his countrymen. He, the speaker, would point to his College friend Babu Anundo Mohun Bose, Premchand Roychund Student of the Calcutta University, who after receiving the highest education that an Indian University could give him has forsaken all immediate prospects here, and matriculated in the University of Cambridge. (*Hear ! Hear !*) He the speaker thought there were three points involved in the present controversy which should be kept steadily in view. 1st. The Rulers should understand the Ruled ; 2nd the Ruled should understand the Rulers, and 3rd India being a vast continent, there should be a community of sentiment and feeling among its diverse nationalities for the advancement of the common weal. And what could be a more powerful instrument for the accomplishment of these important objects that the wide diffusion of English Education. Then it

was urged that although the natives cried for English Education they were not willing to pay for it. Now it was well known that since the Education Despatch of 1854, Schools had been multiplied at an astonishing rate in the Presidency and in the interior, and who were chiefly instrumental in founding them? Were it not the English educated natives and did they not pay two-thirds, and in many cases three fourths of the cost of those schools? Thanks to Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, Moonsiffs and Subordinate Judges, Pleaders and Sub-Assistant Surgeons, and enlightened Zemindars and Talookdars, the cause of education was daily gaining ground. Would it be wise or politic for the State in this frame of the national mind to withdraw its aid from English Education and thus stop the good works. Permit me, said the speaker, to conclude by saying that in the name of every thing sacred and in the interest of the whole nation I adjure Lord Mayo's Government to watch and wait, not to be precipitate, not to arrest the tide of progress by a sudden fit of economy or a misplaced zeal for vernacular education! *(Loud Applause.)*

Baboo Bippro Dass Bannerjee said:—

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—Since the beginning of this educational controversy, I have gone into hundreds of villages and talked with thousands of peasants. After the fullest enquiries I have come to the conclusion that the extensive system of vernacular education contemplated by Government would be premature.

Much has been said by the preceding speakers regarding high English education. I shall content myself with telling you that, out of Rs. 29,51,508 spent for education in Bengal, Rs. 10,29,002 is spent for direction, inspection, and professional institutions; Rs. 11,96,510 are contributed by private individuals, the actual net cost incurred by the State for English Education is Rs. 7,25,988 only! In the face of these figures, the proposed policy of the Government of India to say the least of it would be highly impolitic. I appeal to all Englishmen, whether it is expedient

to demand 19 lacs from a people who already pay 12, and that all at once?

The Government of India in their resolution dated the 8th September 1869 have said that English education has spread so rapidly and is so much appreciated by the people, that it may be left to itself. I deny it; there are at present 1,62,671 students in Bengal, of these 45,680 belong to the vernacular schools in Bengal under Babus Bhoodeb Mookerjea and Kashi Kant Mookerjea. Assuming the number of boys of school-going age in Bengal to be 4 millions, and 2 millions belong to the high and middle classes, 1,16,991 boys receiving English education form a very low ratio. There are yet persons belonging to the high and middle classes, who object to send their boys to English schools, because they consider that English Education will make them irreligious! There are myriads of students who cannot learn English simply because they cannot undergo the expenses of an English education.

As for mass education I say what I have repeatedly asserted as a journalist that the time is come to teach the masses. But education like any commercial commodity must be given on the principle of the supply being limited to the demand. So say our Vernacular Inspectors, who complain that the schools under them contain a greater number of higher class students than those of the lower class, for whom they are chiefly intended. Why is this so? simply because the ryots cannot afford to lose the labour of their boys. By all means give them education but give them what they really want, I mean practical education. The Government may establish schools and erect palatial buildings, but the teachers I am afraid will have to address empty benches. Unless you improve the material condition of the ryots it is idle to expect them to go to schools which hold out no inducement to them. Let this be done and then extend mass education, but not by sacrificing high English education, though according to the spirit of the great despatch of 1854, you may gradually retire from the direct management of the schools.

But after all what sort of education do the Government intend to give to the masses? Is mere reading, writing, and casting figures education? Is it fair to keep the ryot in the leading strings for ever? Such I fear will be the result of the proposed scheme of mass education. Even now the ryots complain that they have nothing to satisfy their legitimate ambition. (Here he speakers read an extract from the Report of the Deputy Inspector of Sonamuky circle. Vide Education Report for 1868-69, page 358-59.) You may close the English Schools, but do you believe that the ryots will rest satisfied with the education that will not enable them to rise above the present dead level? The expenses of English Education may deter them, but will they not curse the hand that will give them a drop and a drop only which will serve to increase their thirst? Will not this be tantamount to an introduction of a new system of caste:— The rich educated, for they can afford any expense, the middle class compelled to remain in ignorance, and the mass never to be allowed to go beyond the iron barrier to be set around them? The true policy is so keep these English schools as they are, that the rich and the middle classes as well as the children of the lower classes, if they have means, may finish their education there. The Government are tantalizing the masses with promises which their own policy will not enable them to fulfil. Napoleon "will give anything to secure the adherence of men like Guizot, and Thiers"!! Our Government are suppressing the only class who are loyal on principle and from a love of their country. As a humble but loyal subject of her Gracious Majesty I deeply and sincerely lament the determination of the Government of India on this important question. (*Applause.*)

Carried.

Babu Debendra Mullick, in moving the 5th Resolution said, that his task was simple inasmuch as the preceding speakers had exhausted the important points embraced in the Memorial. He was humbly of opinion that it was the duty of right thinking and loyal subjects to represent freely and unreservedly their

grievances to their Sovereign rather than brood over them in sullen discontent. "Let us therefore," he continued, go up submissively and respectfully to the Secretary of State and pray that the impending calamity be adverted. I call it a calamity, for it can be nothing else, if those who are destined by their education and position to lead the nation in the path of intellectual and social progress were shut out from the schools and colleges by prohibitory schooling fees. I hope in saying this I I may not be misunderstood, I am not opposed to mass education. I will hail the day when the millions of this country will not only acquire rudimentary knowledge, but will be placed in a position by means of practical instruction to bring modern improvements to bear upon unagricultural and other industrial occupations in which they may be engaged. It is our good fortune to live under the beneficent sway of a Sovereign who sorrows in our sorrow, and rejoices in our rejoicing, who looks with an equal eye upon all classes of Her subject without distinction of creed and color. I cannot for a moment believe that Her Gracious Majesty the Queen and the great British Nation, in whose hands are committed our destinies will do aught to arrest the progress of English education in this country, to which may rightly be traced the manifold blessings for which we feel so grateful to the British Government. Our prayer I submit is reasonable and just, we do not wish that the slightest check should be given to popular education. We only ask that the State may not withdraw or diminish its aid, limited as it is, from English education. If our rulers have any faith in their beneficent mission in this country they will I believe allow that that mission can only be fulfilled by qualifying the natives to participate in the blessings of that civilization, which has enabled them to take the foremost place in the scale of nations, and what can be more potent agency towards that end than the wide diffusion of European knowledge ?" The speaker concluded by moving the following Resolution :

That the following Memorial embodying the views and sentiments affirmed in the foregoing Resolutions be forwarded to His

Grace the Secretary of State for India through the usual channel.

To

HIS GRACE THE SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR INDIA.

The humble Memorial of the undersigned native inhabitants of Lower Bengal.

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

1. That your Memorialists have been filled with great alarm by the Resolution of the Government of India in the Financial Department, No. 2206, dated Fort William the 31st March 1870, announcing the reversal of the educational policy, inaugurated by the Government of that enlightened statesman Lord William Bentinck, and fostered by successive Governors-General, which if carried out in its integrity will prove seriously detrimental to the cause of the material, mental, and moral progress of the people of this country.

2. Your Memorialists do not desire to revive the old controversy as to whether the English or the oriental languages should constitute the media of instruction for the natives of India. The important results which have already followed the policy of Lord William Bentinck's Government fully attest its wisdom. Nothing, however, can be plainer or more obligatory on the Government of India than the instructions on this subject contained in the celebrated Despatch of the Honorable the Court of Directors of 1854, justly regarded as the Charter of Education for British India.

3. The cardinal principles of the educational policy of Government were thus laid down in that memorable Despatch:

"It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge."

" This knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labor and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce." " We must emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved Arts, Science, Philosophy and Literature of Europe ; in short of European knowledge." " In any general system of education, the English language should be taught where there is a demand for it ; but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the Vernacular, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language."... " We look therefore to the English language and to the Vernacular languages of India together, as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge, and it is our desire to see them cultivated together in all schools in India of sufficiently high class to maintain a school master possessing the requisite qualifications."....." Schools whose object should be to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of Society in every condition of life shall exist in every district in India."

" We include in the class of institutions those which like the Zillah Schools in Bengal,.....use the English language as the chief medium of instruction ; as well as others of an inferior order such as the Government Vernacular Schools in the Bombay Presidency, whose object is, to convey the highest class of instruction which can now be taught through the medium of the Vernacular languages."

" We include these Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools in the same class, because we are unwilling to maintain the broad line of separation which at present exists between schools in which the media for imparting instruction differ.

This system was thus summed up:—

"Such a system as this, placed in all its degrees under efficient inspection beginning with the humblest elementary instruction and ending with the University test of a liberal education, the best students in each class of schools, being encouraged by the aid afforded them towards obtaining a superior education, by means of such a system of scholarships as we shall have to describe, would, we firmly believe, impart life and energy to education in India, and lead to a gradual but steady extension of its benefits to all classes of the people.

4. But in the face of these emphatic injunctions, the Government of India, in its recent Resolution, has proclaimed its intention to withhold its aid from "all English education," declaring that "the motives which induce the people to seek it are *prima facie* sufficient for its rapid development *without any contribution* from the Imperial finances," that "the desire for Vernacular Education, or, as might distinctively be said, for education in order to develop the intellectual faculties, apart from the immediate purpose of securing material advantages, is so low as hardly to exist, and, therefore, ought to receive much artificial stimulus and encouragement," and accordingly directs the local Governments "reduce to the utmost the charge upon the State for English Education with a view to render it as self-supporting as possible."

5. The withdrawal of State aid from English Education, your Memorialists respectfully submit, would be a grave misfortune to the people of this country. Apart from the intellectual, social, and moral advantages, which flow from it, it has a direct economic value to the Government, which can hardly be exaggerated. The English Schools and Colleges constitute the fields of exercise for the training of the children of the soil for the discharge of administrative functions: indeed, were it not for the facility thus afforded to recruit the different branches of the public service, it would have been scarcely possible for the British Government in India with the means at its disposal to have carried

on the administration of the country with that success which it has now achieved.

6. The present political condition of the country renders it necessary that the whole of its legislation and the bulk of its fiscal, Judicial and police administration should be conducted through the medium of the English language, and it is of the utmost consequence therefore that for a proper understanding of their object, effect, and bearing, a fair knowledge of that language should be possessed, not only by the higher classes, but by all who come under their operation and influence. To secure a just appreciation of the motives of the Government by the people at large, and to create a bond of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled, who are otherwise unhappily divided by color, creed and feeling, such a knowledge is imperatively required, and cannot be neglected without the risk of serious evil.

7. English Education for the people of this country is thus a State necessity, and it is therefore the duty and interest of the British Indian Government to apply a portion of the public revenues to its advancement, for it not only thereby promotes the cause of good government and is thus enabled to fulfil one of the noblest ends of its existence in a foreign country, but directly lessens the cost of administration and lightens the burden of taxation on the people at large.

8. In another sense State expenditure on English Education is also reproductive. Educated natives are so many missionaries of knowledge, and the light they receive they are naturally desirous to communicate freely to their less fortunate countrymen. Thus in 1855-56 the year when the Education Despatch of the Court of Directors came into operation, the number of Anglo-Vernacular Schools was 25, and that of Vernacular schools 54, while in 1868-69, the last year of actual returns, the former had increased to 670, and the latter to 2,962, mostly through

the exertions of native gentlemen educated in English and under the fostering influence of the Grant-in-aid system.

9. The object of the Government of India in reducing or withdrawing State contribution in aid of English Education is stated to be to divert it to Vernacular Education, but from the facts stated above, it is clear that English Education helps on the cause of Vernacular Education. For every rupee paid by the State in the aid of the Vernacular schools, an additional rupee is paid in the shape of fees and subscriptions raised through the instrumentality of educated natives, and were this agency to be repressed, the Government would have to bear the whole and not the half of the cost of Vernacular Education as now, while there would be no scope left for that "spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which is of itself," wrote the authors of the Education Despatch referred to above, "of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation."

10. It has been said that high education is sought only by those classes who are well able to pay for it, but this, your Memorialists submit, is a mistake. The social and political conditions of the country do not offer any incentive to the richer classes (whose number is extremely limited) to pursue a liberal course of study, and those who sent their children to school are generally poor and ill-able to defray the entire cost of their education. It is to be observed also, that the Government does not propose to withdraw its aid from high education only, but from all English Education, whether rudimentary or liberal, and that it will thereby affect the bulk of our English schools, many of which are primary institutions designed for instruction in the elements of reading, writing and cyphering, and which all include the Vernacular as a part of their curriculum. Thus it will be seen that the opposition of Government is to the spread of English amongst all classes and not to high education through

the medium of the English language for the higher classes exclusively.

11. The Resolution of the Government of India is calculated to convey an erroneous impression as to the share of State contribution in aid of English Education. It is often alleged that the British Indian Government gives a "charity" education to its subjects, but how far this charge is grounded on fact will appear from the following Statement:—

Expenditure on English Education in 1868-69.

Institutions.	Imperial Funds.	Fees and Endowments.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Colleges General ...	1,91,456	95,499	2,86,955
Government Schools...	2,29,730	2,22,016	4,51,746
Aided Schools ...	200,334	3,79,404	5,79,738
Total ...	6,21,520	6,96,919	13,18,439

12. It will be thus seen that in Government Colleges an amount equal to half the State contribution is raised by fees, subscriptions and endowments, in the Zillah Schools a sum equal to the Government grant, and in the Aided schools nearly two thirds come from the same sources, a state of things quite in accord with the general spirit of the Education Despatch of 1854, and with the Grant-in-aid Rules sanctioned by the Government of India. It is observable that the two Government Schools in Calcutta kept up for the Hindus of the city, far from being a burden on

the State, yield a surplus income, and that of the institutions for professional education the Law Schools shewed in 1868-69, a surplus of Rs. 7,019. Your Memorialists may add that in Calcutta where the demand for English Education is exceptionally great, and the people are for the most part in a position to bear the whole cost of maintaining English Schools, the Government does not now give any Grant in-aid to a school in which English is taught.

13. The Government of India seems to deprecate English Education on the ground that it is pursued for the sake of "material advantages." It, cannot however, be denied that modern civilization is closely i nterwoven with the material prosperity of a nation, and that in every civilized country, education is valued not only for the intellectual and moral advantages it affords, but also for its immediate bearing on the practical purposes of life The distinction, sought to be drawn between the English and the Vernacular language as a medium of instruction, seems to imply that the former, with its rich treasures of literature and science, is not culculated so well as the latter to develope the intellectual faculties. This distinction, your Memorialists cannot help observing, is an arbitrary assumption opposed to the unanimous opinion of all the greatest men in India, European and Native. It is certain that so far as intellectual discipline is concerned, the Vernacular language of Bengal, being newly formed, though it is rapidly advancing through the literary activity of English educated natives, cannot boast of those resources, whether in literature or science, which can supply a complete course for liberal education or can gratify the thirst for knowledge of an intellectual being. Hence it is that Vernacular Education, however valued as a medium of rudimentary instruction for those whose circumstances and occupations do not admit of English education, cannot convey to the desired extent the European knowledge aimed at in the Education Despatch of 1854, or satisfy the demands of modern civilization, or the political aspirations of the people. But if Vernacular Education had no practical value, if it were a bar-

ren intellectual exercise, how few even of those who now receive it or who are in the view of the Government of India would ever seek it. And here the economic value of English Education is also evident. The vernacular books which are being so rapidly multiplied are produced without requiring any direct stimulus from the State, under the beneficent influence of that English Education, (which the Government of India would fain repress,) whereas in the other provinces where English Education has not made equal progress, even handsome pecuniary rewards have failed to produce a literature comparatively so rich and varied.

14. Every civilized country, your Memorialists submit, considers it obligatory on the State to appropriate a portion of the public revenues to the promotion of liberal education, and as that education can only be attained through the medium of the English language in the present state of this country, it cannot, they humbly conceive, be consistent with our policy to withdraw the insignificant sum now given in aid of English Education in Bengal, which is scarcely an appreciable fraction of the enormous revenues which Bengal contributes to the imperial treasury. And they would further point out that the voluntary contributions of those, who avail themselves of the English Schools and Colleges, are much greater than the amounts raised in the other provinces by compulsory local cesses; while the fee payments in Bengal are already high compared with corresponding rates even in Europe. Thus by a recent statue of the University of Oxford its doors are open to all for the almost nominal fee of £ 3. 10 per annum and while the fee rate in the Presidency College in Calcutta is at present £ 14. 8*s.* per annum and in the Mofussil Colleges £6. per annum, exclusive of fees for the professional branches such as law and Civil Engineering.

15. The Principle, regulating the allotment of the public revenues to the several provinces for the purpose of education, is, in the humble opinion of your memorialists, highly unsatisfactory. In the first place, out of an income of nearly fifty

millions, only £650,530 is allotted to education ; and that amount is thus divided among the several provinces :—

Provinces.	Total Revenue.	Allotment for Education.
		For 1870-71.
Madras	£8,010,915	£90,052
Bombay.....	£9,616,233	£1,18,271
Bengal	£15,379,708	£2,34,384
North West Provinces.....	£6,351,728	£1,03,528
Punjab	£3,873,749	£64,909
Oudh	£1,590,483	£26,056
Central Province	£1,088,815	£27,864
British Burmah	£1,161,478	£10,998

16. It will be seen that the older Provinces receive far less than the new Provinces, though the former yield a much larger revenue. Bengal, your Memorialists submit, has a peculiar claim to consideration. It yields the largest revenue in the empire, and what is worthy of particular remark is that of the all pervading tax in this country, the duty upon salts, from which no man, woman, or child who uses that necessary of life can escape, the people of Bengal contribute a much larger proportion than the inhabitants of any other provinces. The maximum salt-duty in the other provinces does not exceed Rs. 3 per maund, whereas in Bengal it is Rs. 3-8 per maund, and if the Imperial Government would, as an act of bare justice, give to Bengal the proceeds of this excess, there would be not only no lack of means for the education of the masses,

but there would be a fund available for that purpose which no local cess can cover.

17. Your Memorialists are aware that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors in the Education Despatch adverted to above, which is regarded as the Charter of education for India, "looked forward to the time when any general system of education entirely provided by Government may be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of Grants-in-aid, and when many of existing Government Institutions, especially those of the higher order, may be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State." But no educational institutions, not even those of the higher order, are now supported "entirely by Government," on the contrary, half the expenses of the Colleges and Zillah Schools, commonly called Government Schools, are now met by fees and endowments, and two-thirds of the charges of aided schools are borne by local funds. On the other hand, remembering that the students in this country are much poorer than the corresponding class in England or in any European country, with which a comparison can be drawn, the State contributions in aid of those Colleges and Schools cannot, your Memorialists submit, be withdrawn or diminished without dooming them to inevitable decay if not absolute ruin, a contingency which was most strongly deprecated by the Hon'ble Court in communicating its orders to the Government of India.

18. Your Memorialists are alive to the importance of popular education, and the stress justly laid upon it in the Education Despatch of 1854 and in the Despatches of Her Majesty's successive Secretaries of State for India, which relate to this subject, but your Memorialists do not remember to have noticed a single expression in those State-papers, which implies that the aid given to English Education, should be transferred to Vernacular Education. On the contrary it has been repeatedly declared that both should go hand in hand. While as regards increased cost to the State, the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, who inaugurated the present system, were fully sensible of this

inevitable result, for they conclude their great Despatch with these memorable words:—"Although we are fully aware that the measures we have now adopted will involve in the end a much larger expenditure upon education from the revenues of India, or in other words, from the taxation of the people of India, than is at present so applied, we are convinced, with Sir Thomas Munro, in words used many years since, that any expenses which may be incurred for this object, 'will be amply repaid by the improvement of the country; for the general diffusion of knowledge is inseparable followed by more orderly habits, by increasing industry, by a taste for the comforts of life, by exertion to acquire them, and by the growing prosperity of the people.'"

19. The recent Resolution of the Government of India involves the transgression of the Educational Charter of India on three cardinal points, 1st—it divorces English from Vernacular Education, 2nd—by causing this divorce it undermines the sound basis of Indian Education, *viz.*, European knowledge, inasmuch as the Bengali language, though far more improved than most of the Vernaculars of India, is not sufficiently advanced for the communication of knowledge "in the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe," and 3rd—by discountenancing aid to "all English Education" it destroys the prospect, of the aided Anglo-Vernacular Schools, which feed the Colleges, and where the bulk of the middle classes receive their education.

20. The practical result of the new policy announced by the Government of India would, your Memorialists believe, be the surrender of English Education of a higher order to the Christian Missionaries, whose avowed object it is to proselytize the people of this country and subvert their national religion. It may easily be surmised that such an issue will fill Her Majesty's Native Indian subjects with the deepest discontent, for what could be more unsatisfactory to a nation than to see its own hard-earned resources placed in the hands of a body of propagandists, whose chief aim it is, as observed above, to overthrow its religious and social fabric.

21. Finally, your Memorialists venture to submit, the unanimity of opinion which prevails among the people of Bengal as to the kind of education calculated to benefit them, the intelligent appreciation which they have shewn of the important principle of local exertion for the diffusion of education, affirmed in the Despatch of the Court of Directors; and the large number of schools they have established under the grant-in-aid rules suggest that some voice should be given to them both in the regulation of the system of education and in the administration of the education grant.

22. Your Memorialists humbly hope they have stated enough to show that the time has not arrived for the State to sever its connection with English Education in India, and that the Vernacular languages, whether of Bengal or of the other Provinces, have not attained the development necessary for the communication and diffusion of European knowledge, and they accordingly pray.—

That your Grace will be pleased to take the above facts and circumstances into consideration and not to sanction any measure, calculated to impair the present efficiency of Anglo-Vernacular Education, and thereby to check the progressing civilization of the people of India.

Baboo Sree Gopaul Paul Chowdry seconded the motion.

Baboo Bhoyrub Chunder Banerjea, B. L. moved the following amendment:

"That the Memorial just read be adopted, subject to such alterations in its form and the prayer contained therein, which the Committee of the British Indian Association may think fit to make, provided it should hereafter appear as rumoured that the Secretary of State has already signified his approval

of the Resolution of the Government of India, dated the 31st March last on the subject under notice."

Baboo Hemchunder Banerjea B. L. seconded the motion, which was carried.

Baboo Biprodoss Banerjea said: The last Resolution is not sufficient. If it should be true that the Duke of Argyll has already signified his approval of the Anti-English-Education policy of the Government of India, it would be labour lost to apply to him on the subject. I would therefore suggest that the Memorial just read be sent at once to the House of Commons, and that an Agent be deputed to England to ventilate our grievances there. I also propose that Sir Charles Trevelyan be requested to hold the brief for us. I am sure he will co-operate with us, for he was one of those illustrious men who had induced the good Lord Bentinck to adopt the Educational policy, which has benefitted the country so much. (Baboo Kristodoss Paul here remarked that Parliament would be prorogued before the Memorial could reach England.) So much the better for us. Money *shall* be forthcoming to defray the expenses of the Agent. He will have time to prepare the English mind to give us a fair hearing. A Memorial to the Great Mogul in the Victoria Hotel will avail little. We should go to the Seat of Power, and lay our case with all the details before the people of England, who will not I feel persuaded refuse to do us justice. I would however leave the question to the discretion of the Committee of the British Indian Association, and would accordingly move that they be authorized to address the Memorial to Parliament if they should think fit.

Baboo Kalimohun Doss seconded the motion which was carried.

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman and to the promoters of the district meetings, and the Meeting broke up at 6½ P. M.

APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF DISTRICT MEETINGS.

BENGAL.

PRESIDENCY DIVISION.

24-PERGUNNAHS.

BARSIA BEHALA.

I

A PUBLIC MEETING was convened by the Members of the Barsia Desa Hitaisini Sobha on Sunday the 26th of July at 4 P. M. in the Barsia School Premises for the purpose of considering the present educational policy of the Government. Many of the educated gentlemen of Barsia and adjoining villages were present on the occasion.

Babu Radhanatha Raya Choudhuri in the chair.

The President opened the meeting and requested Babu Bhavani Churn Datta to move the first Resolution.

"That in the opinion of this meeting the proposed withdrawal of State assistance from English education of this country as announced in the *India Gazette* of 2nd May last is prejudicial to the improvement of the country, and the loss that will be occasioned by it will not be compensated by the education of the masses, for the sake of which the aid is intended to be withdrawn."

Babu Bhavani Churn Datta made a speech in support of the Resolution. The principal points which his arguments rested were.

1. If the State aid be withdrawn, Colleges and Schools of Bengal will no longer exist. For in that case the fees will have to be increased so much that the present school-going population will find it beyond their means to defray the cost of education. In no country are colleges and schools supported solely by the schooling fees, to effect this in a country like Bengal would lead to great mischief. The cause of Education will suffer greatly from such a policy.

2. The education of the masses is a thing in itself desirable and is such as ought to enlist the sympathies of all who wish well to their country, but however useful this education may be English education cannot be sacrificed for its sake. The Vernacular education, which the Government intends to give to the masses can be only of a rudimentary nature, it will not extend beyond a knowledge of the three "Rs." It is impossible that the vulgar are in a position to receive education which at all deserves the name, their circumstances will not allow them to keep off their sons from manual labor beyond the age of ten. This education therefore will do very little towards the improvement of the intellectual and moral condition of the masses. "And is it politic, is it fair, is it wise," said he "for the sake of this insignificant advantage to demolish high English education or education properly so called to set at naught the glorious results produced by the indefatigable exertions of so many noble-minded English Statesmen? to undo all that England has done for the civilization of India and to push the country back to the abyss of ignorance?

The Resolution was seconded by Babu Surya Kumara Raya with certain remarks.

The second Resolution was moved by Babu Joyagopala Chowdhuri. After some preliminary observations, the Babu read the Resolution as follows.

"That in the opinion of this meeting it is the duty and interest of Government to provide funds from the public revenues for the high education of the people of this country."

After taking a retrospective view of Bengal just at the time when the British flag was seen hoisted on its walls, the mover of this resolution spoke of the indefatigable exertions, which the British Government and noble-minded Europeans had hitherto made for the education of the natives, and after describing the glorious results that have been produced he said that "the highest objects of education have not yet been fully realized. The Bengalis have just reached that stage when they can only hope to enjoy the wished-for fruits which education holds up to their view."—That originality is a great want in the present state of the Bengali mind none will deny, and as long as this end is not realised, English education is a failure after all. Owing to a high liberal education and its various encouragements, the Bengali mind is already giving some indications of its former energies and original vigour." That "only time is needed for the regeneration of Bengal, nay of whole India. The friends of native education should have their whole attention directed upon raising this country from the state of torpor under which it has been growing for centuries." "At this stage", said he, "is it the duty of the Government to throw cold water upon all our high hopes and noble aspirations, by thus withdrawing all State assistance from high English education of this country? Gentlemen, it is the duty of a Government to promote the well-being and prosperity of its subjects. The present policy of our Government in withdrawing all State assistance from English education, at this stage, is a violation of one of its highest duties towards its subjects."

The speaker after showing by these and other considerations that it is the duty of the Government to provide funds from the public revenue for the high education of the people of this country, proceeded to shew that it is also the interest of the Government to do so.

On this point he adduced two reasons, which are :

Firstly.—The highest interest of a Government is to establish peace and harmony among its subjects, and this end is more readily obtained by properly educating them than by any other means,

for a school or a college is a better safe-guard than either a citadel or a jail. The history of all the civilised nations of the world proves beyond all doubt that the stability of a Government depends upon the peace and prosperity of its subjects and that the moral sensibilities which are awakened in them by a proper training.

2ndly.—The cost of administration is diminished by educating the natives of this country, and allowing them to hold high posts under Government. For the services of the educated natives can be easily secured at a less expense than those of the Europeans. The experience of the last few years has shewn that the Bengalis if properly trained can conscientiously discharge the duties given of the highest offices under Government."

In conclusion he said that "His Honor the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the Director of Public Instruction after proper investigation have pronounced that with the exception of a few rich families in Bengal the middle class men who comprise the greater portion of the alumni are not in a position to bear the whole burden of high English education." The Babu after dwelling at some length on these and many other points impressed on the minds of his audience that it is the duty and interest of the Government to supply funds from the public revenue for the high education of the natives of Bengal.

In seconding this resolution Babu Kalisohana Roya Choudhuri said :

If it is the duty of a Government to protect the lives and property of its subjects, the Government ought certainly to educate them. For it is by education alone that man's moral nature is purified, and if the people remain ignorant nothing can prevent the frequent commission of crimes. Besides, Bengal yields annually a large sum to the Government a small portion of which should be expended for the proper education of its inhabitants.

The third Resolution was moved by Babu Surya Cumara Roya Choudhuri.

That it is quite impossible to make the Colleges and Schools self-supporting solely by means of raising schooling fees.

The mover of this Resolution after shewing the great difference between the statements of the Financial Department and the Educational Department regarding the expenditure of the Government under the head of Education as appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 26th November 1869 spoke following effect. That the condition of the middle class men, whose sons compose the majority of the alumni of our schools and colleges, will not enable them to supply the sum of £54,000, now expended by the Government for English education, and which sum is therefore still wanting to make the Schools and Colleges self-supporting in addition to the high charges, which they already pay for the education of their children. "The multiplicity of taxes," said he, "imperial and local, the rise in the price of provisions and the high cost of living at the present day render the middle class the greater sufferers; the sudden rise in cost of education will therefore at once stop the further improvement of the greater portion of the people of Lower Bengal."

This Resolution was seconded by Babu Rakhala Charana Ghose.

The fourth Resolution was moved by Babu Sasi Bhushona Bandopadhyaya.

That an abstract of the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to the Secretary to the B. I. A. for submission to the meeting which will be convened on the 2nd proximo for the purpose of memorialising His Grace the Secretary of State for India.

It was seconded by Babu Nemai Charana Roya Choudhuri.

Abstract

(Sd.) SYAMA VILAS ROYA CHOUDHURI,

Secretary.

BARRIPORE.

II.

A meeting was held at Barripore on the 26th June last. It was presided over by Pundit Dwarkanauth Bidyabhosun, and the educated residents of and about the place were present at it. The contemplated withdrawal of State assistance from English education and the intended memorial of the British Indian Association to the Secretary of State on the subject were intimated to the gentlemen assembled; and they were unanimously of opinion that the Association should lose no time in forwarding the projected Memorial. They were further of opinion that as the subject is one of grave importance inasmuch as if views of Government be carried into effect, it would entail a national calamity, the British Indian Association should not rest contented with simply memorializing to the Secretary of State but to adopt requisite measures so that the matter may enlist the generous sympathy and warm interest of the great English nation in England under whom God has placed us.

The meeting suggest that the following points be prominently mentioned in the Memorial.

1st.—That the stoppage of State assistance to English Education will have a ruinous effect upon education in this country. The native community deprived of Government aid to English education, shall not be able to bear the burden themselves, and the consequence will be a lamentable decline of education and a corresponding eclipse of the glory of English Government.

2nd.—The decline of English education which would naturally result from the stoppage of Government assistance will not only be baneful to the natives and other residents of the country, but it will also prove injurious to the Government itself by rendering administration more costly than what it is at present.

3rd.—That the stoppage of State assistance to English Education would only save to Government a few thousand of rupees at the risk of creating universal discontent and its attendant evils.

(Sd.) RAJCOOMAR ROY CHOWDRY,
" and 178 others.

BARASET.

III

Pursuant to the notice issued by Babu Rajkrishna Mitra a public meeting of the residents and inhabitants of the District of Baraset was held at 7 P. M., on Tuesday, the 28th instant in the premises of Babu Syama Charana Banerji in which the following resolutions were passed.

Proposed by Babu Kader Nath Datta and carried that Babu Anand Mohan be requested to preside.

Proposed by Babu Durga Charan Chaterji and seconded by Babu Kumud Chandra and carried, that in the opinion of this meeting the contemplated withdrawal of state aid to high English Education is considered by the inhabitants of this district as a national misfortune, inasmuch as, it would, put a stop to the progress which this country has been steadily making since its first introduction into Bengal.

Proposed by Babu Kumud Chandra Mitra and seconded by Babu Syama Charana Banerji, and Saradaprasad Mittra that as the British Indian Association has convened a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Bengal, that representatives Babus Rajkrishna Mitra, Vipradasa Banerji, Amar Nath Bose be sent to the Association to represent the sentiments of the community here on the subject.

Proposed by Babu Grish Chandra Gupta and seconded by Babu Haradhona Chatuspati that a copy of the resolution be sent to the B. I. A. for information.

Proposed by Babu Rajkrishna Chatterji and Golam Moula and seconded by Babu Matilala Gupta that a Committee of the following gentlemen be formed to carry into effect the above resolutions.

Babus Bhola Nath Banerji.
„ Madhava Chandra Banerji.
„ Rajkrishna Mittra.
„ Vrindavana Chatterji.
„ Venimadhava Chatterji.

Babus Thakura Dasa Banerji.
„ Kumuda Chandra Ghosala.
„ Amaranatha Vasu.
„ Madhusudana Vasu.
„ Kaliprasana Sarma.
„ Bholanatha Mukerji.
„ Venimadhava Mitra.
„ Bhavani Charana Datta.
„ Syamalala Mittra.
„ Varada Charana Banerji.
„ Kalinatha Datta.
„ Kishna Charana Vasu.
„ Amrtalala Vasu.
„ Kalikrishna Datta.

Babus Dinanatha Vasu and Mahendra Lala Datta be Secretaries with power to add to their number.

Proposed by Babu Rajamohun Mittra that a vote of thanks be given to the chair.

(Sd.) DINA NAUTHA VASU.

BARA JAGULIA HITAISHINI SABHA.

IV

AT A MEETING of the Bara Jagulia Hitaishini Sabha the following Resolutions were passed with the unanimous approbation of all present.

RESOLUTIONS.

I. That in the opinion of this Meeting the present Anti-English Education policy of the Government in the withdrawal of all state aid from such education is not only to be deplored but calculated to mar the best interest of the country illumined by the civilization of the West.

II. That while approving the Education and Elevation of the mass of population in this country, this Meeting is of opinion that to afford such Education in preference to English is not only unsound in principle but unworthy of a wise Government.

III. That this Meeting fully concurs with the views of the British Indian Association in Memorializing the Secretary of State in Council for India, against such arbitrary policy of the Government.

(Sd.) BARADA PRASANNA GHOSE,
Secretary Hitaishini Sabha.

Jagulia,
Dated 29th June, 1870.

PANIHATTY.

V

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of Panihatty and its vicinity held on Sunday the 26th May 1870.

RESOLUTION.

I. That the inhabitants of Panihatty and its vicinity contemplate with serious apprehensions the measure proposed by the Government of India for withdrawing the aid which the State have hitherto lent towards the English Education of the people of India inasmuch as it is neither just nor it is the time for the people being saddled with costs of their own education over and have the taxes they are now required to pay.

II. That this meeting fully sympathises with the objects of the British Indian Association which is shortly going to call in a meeting of the Inhabitants of Bengal for the purpose of memorialising His Grace the Secretary of State for India against the views of the Indian Government on the subject of the English Education of the people.

III. That embodying the views of the meeting on the present educational movement a letter No. 307 dated 30th June 1870 attached be addressed to the Secretary of the British

Indian Association to be placed at the service of the contemplated meeting at Calcutta.

(Sd.) BEERESSUR BOSE,
Chairman.

(True Copy)
AMIRTA LAUL CHATTERJEE
Secretary Panihatty Association.

HALLISHOHUR.

VI

RESOLUTIONS passed by the members of the Hallishohur Good Will Fraternity at a meeting held on the 26th June, 1870.

I. Resolved that the Secretary of the British Indian Association be informed that the members of the Fraternity are unanimously of opinion that it is highly proper on the part of the inhabitants of Bengal to memorialize His Grace the Secretary of State for India on the subject of the proposed withdrawal of State aid from English Education in this country; for they think that no policy is fraught with greater danger to the best interests of the country, and its advancement in civilization, than the one in contemplation respecting English Education.

II. That with the view set forth in the above Resolution the Fraternity feels bound in duty to co-operate with the British Indian Association and that it shall be most glad to do its best to further the objects of that Association.

III. That as it would not suit the convenience of all the members of the Fraternity to attend the Public Meeting on the 2nd of July next, they think it proper to depute Babus Gopal Chandra Banerjee, Gopi Mohan Banerjee, Pleader High Court, and Babus Kali Prasanna Chatterjee, Grish Chundra Roy and Janoki Nath Gonguly, as their representatves, to express generally, that the Fraternity is deeply grieved at heart to find that the Supreme Government is quite mistaken to think that it is only the children of the rich who

receive education in English Colleges and Schools, that the fee-rates in those Schools may be still raised to cover their expenses ;—and that those in whom a desire for English Education has been created are in circumstances to pay for their education and need no State help. On the contrary it is the firm conviction of the Fraternity created by experience and local knowledge that the children of the middle-class mostly are educated in those educational institutions and not those of the rich ; that the fee-rates are now as high as the people can possibly bear, and that those who wish for Education are not in circumstances to pay the entire expense of their training.

IV. That the British Indian Association be requested to solicit the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal not to retire from Office before the Education question is finally settled as no official high in service, is better acquainted with the wants, feelings and circumstances of the people of Bengal than His Honor.

JAGAT CHANDRA MUKERJEA,
Secretary.

NUDDEA.

KRISHNAGHUR.

VII

PROCEEDINGS of a meeting of the native inhabitants of Krishnaghur held at Rajabari on 26th June 1870 for taking into consideration the proposed Educational policies of the Government of India and the steps necessary to prevent it from being carried into execution.

Meeting held in Krishnaghur on the 26th June 1870. Maharaja Satish Chandra Roy Bahadur, in the chair.

1. Proposed by Rai Yadunath Roy Bahadur, seconded by Babu Ram Tanu Laheree and carried unanimously. That this meeting contemplates with alarm the proposed withdrawal of State assistance from English Education in this country, and

thinks it incumbent on the people to endeavor by every legitimate means in their power to prevent the contemplated withdrawal from being carried out.

2. Proposed by Babu Ram Chandra Mukerjea, seconded by Babu Ganesh Chandra Choudry and carried unanimously.

That the views of the inhabitans of Krisnaghur with reference to this vital question be submitted to the British Indian Association in Calcutta, with a request that all needful steps may be taken for the purpose indicated in the resolution No. I; or if that be impossible, of so modifying the contemplated action of the Government of India as to secure the safety of the existing educational institution.

3. Proposed by Dewan Kartick Chandra Roy seconded by Moulvie Golam Rasul and carried unanimously:

That a deputation consisting of the undermentioned gentlemen be appointed to convey to that body the proceedings of this day and otherwise representing the views of the Krishnaghur public at the meeting which is to be held in Calcutta on the 2nd July next viz. Babus Ram Tanu Laheree, Prasunna Cumar Bose, Rai Yadunath Roy Bahadur, Prasuna Chandra Roy, Ganesh Chandra Choudry, and Tarini Charan Chatterjea.

(Sd.) Maharaja Satis Chandra Roya Bahadur.

SANTIPORE.

VIII

The following was recorded at a public meeting held at Santipore on the 28th June 1870. Babu Gopi Mohan Chatterjea in the chair.

We the Members present at this meeting are very sorry to learn from the Secretary that our Indian Government chooses to withdraw its annual aid from English Education among us, which proposal if executed literally is sure at once to deprive the majority of the people of their greatest blessings and comforts.

We know from history that not even our earliest Sovereigns were adverse to the education of the subject people, and we are glad to acknowledge that our present rulers likewise have by the liberal establishment of the schools and colleges accomplished and are still accomplishing a most marked improvement of the country. Our grief therefore is overwhelming at this unlooked-for and heart-rending news.

In the eager hopes of obtaining prevention of this one unalterable mortification we now most humbly supplicate Her Majesty's most Gracious favour of continuing the usual State Grant for English Education.

Lastly we beg of the Secretary that he will oblige us by forwarding this our humble petition in the 2nd day of the ensuing month to the Calcutta British Indian Association in order to its transmission to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

We remain to be
Her Majesty's most loyal subjects
GOPI MAHAN CHATTERJEA.

JESSORE.

SUDDER STATION.

IX

RESOLUTIONS passed at a meeting of the Inhabitants of Jessore on the 20th June 1870.

RESOLVED.

I. That Babu Ramdas Bannerjea be voted to the Chair.

II. That the Resolution of the Government of India No. 3233 dated 8th September 1869 on the proposed withdrawal of State aid to English education is, in the opinion of the people of Jessore, calculated seriously to interfere with the welfare of

the country ; and that this Committee find it to their great grief, that, the wise liberal policy hitherto pursuing by the paternal Government of British India in matters of Education, which has uniformly contributed towards the enlightenment and advancement of the Community, should now be contemplated to be abandoned by the civilized rulers of the land.

III. That as the British Indian Association of Calcutta have convened a Public Meeting of the native inhabitants of Bengal for the purpose of considering the propriety of memorializing the Secretary of State for India on the subject resolved.

That Babus Devendra Chandra Ghose B. A and B. L. and Bhangshi Dhar Sen then requested to be representatives of this Committee to attend the said Association and express the feelings of the people of this District on this important question,

IV. That the following gentlemen form a Committee with powers to add to their number, to carry on correspondence with the British Indian Association or any other body viz., Babus Madan Mohan Mozoomdar, Prasanna Kumar Dass, Kali Prasanna Sen, Ramdass Banerjea, Anunda Chandra Bosu, Prasanna Cumar Sen M. A., Kadar Nauth Ghose, Hemchundra Mukerjea, Hurry Nath Datta, Bamundass Rose, Haronauth Ghose, Giridhur Sen, Aushootosh Roy Chowdry of Noapara, Ambicachurn Roy of Nurail, Rajcoomar Ghose of Katparrah, Hurrishchunder Roy of Raruly, Rojonekant Mittra of Khajurah, Shamachurn Ghose of Chowgatcha, Babu Hurry Ghose Chowdry of Ramnagore, Munshi Syud Mahomed Hossen, Babus Harnauth Coomar Ghose of Amirta Bazar, Tarinichurn Chowdry of Bogchar, Rev. Gogon Chunder Dutta of Khulnia, Mr. J. R. Renny of Talinipore.

V. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Secretary to the British Indian Association with a letter from the Secretary of this meeting for information.

PROSSUNNO COOMAR SEIN.

AMRITA BAZAR.

X

At a meeting, held at the premises of Babu Hemanta Cumar Ghose of Amrita Bazar, to protest against the education policy of Government, the following resolutions were passed:

Proposed by Babu Shishir Cumar Ghose and seconded by Babu Ramlal Ghose:

I. That in the opinion of this meeting, English education for the people of this country is a State necessity; that it is not only necessary for them to learn the language which their rulers speak, in which the laws of the land are written, and the general business of administration carried on, but also for purposes of good and economical Government; it is therefore the duty of the state, both in a moral and administrative point of view, to apply a portion of the public Revenues for the promotion of education.

Proposed by Babu Abhoy Charn Ganguli and seconded by Babu Chandra Cumar Ghose, B. A.;

II. That the duty of the State to encourage and support what is termed "High Education," has been acknowledged by all the civilized countries, where people has learned the value of such knowledge; this cannot be said of the people of India; the meeting is therefore of opinion that it is the duty of the British Indian Government, whose mission it is to elevate India, to support English education by state grants.

Proposed by Babu Dwarka Nath Shiromoni and seconded by Babu Mati Lal Ghose;

III. That the results of English education for the last 40 years have been most beneficial to this country, that it has vastly contributed to the intellectual, social, moral, and political advancement of the people; that to its salutary influence must be traced the increased loyalty of the people, the promotion of good feeling between the European and Natives, and the wonderful progress of the Vernacular language, and that the proposed withdrawal of state aid from English Schools and Colleges would

not only retard the general improvement of the country, but defeat the very object of Government in the promotion of the Vernacular language by discouraging the agency for its improvement.

Proposed by Babu Madhu Sudan Mitter and seconded by Babu Dwarka Nath Dey :

IV. That State expenditure on English Education is of a reproductive character, that while it produces cheap native agency for the work of administration it is more than repaid by the multiplication of schools with the aid of those who are educated in English, and that the best illustration of this position is afforded by the fact that in 1855-56, the year when the great education despatch of the Court of Directors come into operation there were only 25 Anglo-Vernacular schools and 54 Vernacular schools, whereas in 1868-69 the former increased to 670 and the latter to 2962 attended by 142,820 pupils.

Proposed by Babu Guru Charn Bose and seconded by Babu Baneecant Ganguli :

V. That the bulk of the students, who attend English Schools and Colleges as has been conclusively proved by the Director of Public Instruction belong to the middle classes of Society, which have been the greatest sufferers from the recent increase in the prices of provisions and the general cost of living owing to the multiplication of taxes imperial and local and other circumstances ; that any addition to the charges for education which are already felt too heavy will prove a grievous burden on them, and that if the desire to make the English Schools and Colleges self-supporting has proceeded from a notion that the wealthy ought to bear the cost of the education of their children, that notion is most ill-founded, because a sufficient interest in liberal education has not been yet awakened among them, and that the measure under notice, if carried out, would only destroy the prospects of education of the majority of the students.

Proposed by Babu Devnarain Kar and seconded by Babu Nabin Chandra Chuckerbutty ;

VI. That this meeting, while warmly advocating English Education, is fully alive to the benefits of Vernacular Education that the best interests of the country suggest the adoption of both the English and Vernacular Languages as media of instruction, that is to say the English Language for the upper and middle classes and the Vernacular language for the mass.

Proposed by Babu Uma Charn Kar and seconded by Babu Kader Chandra Chand;

VII. That the views and sentiments affirmed in the foregoing resolutions be communicated to the Secretary to the British Indian Association for submission to the Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Bengal to be held in the Town Hall of Calcutta in the 2nd of July next, for the consideration of this momentous question and that Babu Devendra Chandra Ghose of the High Court be requested to represent the views of the Committee to the Centre meeting at Calcutta.

DVARKA NATHA SIROMANI,
President.

BURDWAN DIVISION.

BURDWAN.

XI

MEETING held at the Maharajah's Palace on the 2nd August, 1870.

RESOLUTION I.

MOVED by Babu Radhabenode Chowdry and seconded by Babu Taruck Nath Sen.

That in the opinion of this Meeting the attitude now assumed by the Government of India towards English Education in Bengal is one full of danger to the most cherished interests of the country, and calls for a loud protest from the people of every district in this Province in which English education has at all made any progress.

RESOLUTION II.

Moved by Babu Modun Lall Tewari and seconded by Babu Kalipado Mookerjee.

That the new Educational policy for Bengal shadowed forth in the recent resolutions of the Government of India is wholly at variance with the broad and wise principles laid down by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors in their memorable Education Despatch of 1854 and since repeatedly upheld by Her Majesty's Secretaries of State of India.

RESOLUTION III.

Moved by Babu Aughore Nath Mozoomdar and seconded by Babu Shama Churn Tuttobagish.

That every thing considered, the time must yet seem far distant when the people of this country unassisted by State Grants will be able to meet the necessarily heavy expenses of their English Education.

RESOLUTION IV.

Moved by Babu Taruck Nath Tuttoratna and seconded by Babu Nobogopal Bose.

That under the existing circumstances it is impossible to separate the cause of English Education in this country from the cause of mass education, conducted through the medium of the Vernacular. As yet there is no Vernacular literature properly so called, and if it is to assume dimensions at all commensurate with the real purposes of Education, it must long continue to borrow plentifully from the great store-house of English literature and science.

RESOLUTION V.

Moved by Babu Troylokyo Nath Chatterjee and seconded by Babu Nobinakhya Bose.

That the best thanks of the Meeting are due to his Highness the Maharaja of Burdwan for his sympathy in the object of the present movement, and for the kind manner in which he has allowed this meeting to be held at his palace.

RESOLUTION VI.

Moved by Babu Keshub Chundra Mittra, and seconded by Babu Jogendra Nath Bose.

That the above Resolutions signed by the Chairman be forwarded to the President of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, as an expression of the public opinion of the District of Burdwan with regard to the change contemplated by the Government of India as to the educational policy for Bengal, and that he requested to forward the proceedings of this Meeting to His Grace the Secretary of State for India through the usual channel.

RANIGUNJ.

XII

THE following memorial was adopted at a meeting of the inhabitants of Ranigunj held on 26th June 1870 and forwarded to the British Indian Association for transmission to His Grace the Secretary of State for India.

" We the residents of Ranigunj and of the adjoining villages beg most respectfully to represent to His Grace the Secretary of State for India the impropriety of withdrawing state assistance from English education in this country, fully persuaded that whatever proceeds from a warmest desire to promote the welfare of our native community will not be refused by His Lordship's favorable consideration.

1. From what knowledge we have derived from our actual experience, we are of opinion that English Education alone is the proper channel of carrying us along to the enviable abode of high civilization. If we look into the former state of our country before we came in contract with the British Government, it will fully testify what wonders English Education has done within a few years.

2. In case of withdrawal of state assistance, English Education will be totally eradicated from our country. For the natives are in general averse to think for themselves and lack independent spirit. No attempt will therefore prove efficacious unless Government meddles with it.

3. It is the first principle of Government to educate his people and render them every assistance to promote their con-

dition. But if Government thus leaves his subjects in a deteriorated state the prerogatives of a subject will be overlooked.

4. The car of civilization among the natives has been making rapid progress under the fostering care of our British masters and the fidelity of our people is exemplary and for more than proportionate to the good will of Her Majesty's beneficial Government. But if the proposal of withdrawing state assistance from English Education be actually carried out all our hopes of being one day enrolled among the enlightened nations of the earth will dissipate like vapor and what is more lamentable our dear country, our native land will necessarily approach its final decay.

RANIGUNJ LOCAL COMMITTEE SIGNED BY ABOUT 130 PERSONS.

UTTARAPARA, BALI, BHADRAKALI AND OTHER VILLAGES.

XIII

RESOLUTIONS adopted at a meeting of the inhabitants of the above mentioned villages, convened by a Committee of the Uttarapara Hitacari Sabha on sunday the 26th of June 1870.

Proposed by Baboo Vama Charana Banerji seconded by Babu Monmatha Chatterji.

I. That in the opinion of this meeting the Financial Resolution of the Government of India dated the 31st March 1870 on the question of High Education appears to be unjust and impolitic and calculated to retard the intellectual progress of the country and the material prosperity of the nation.

Proposed by Babu Jadu Nauth Mukerji and seconded by Babu Vijaya Nauth Chatterji.

II. That however desireable the education of the masses may be the neglect of English Education by the state is unsound in principle and injurious to the best interests of all classes

Proposed by Babu Hara Mohana Roychoudhury and seconded by Vireswara Chatterji.

III. That this meeting deems it expedient to memorialise His Grace the Secretary of State for India against the policy enunciated in the above Financial Resolution and with this view to act in concert with the committee to be appointed at the meeting to be held in the Town Hall in Calcutta on the 2nd proximo.

Proposed by Babu Muttilall Mukerji and seconded by Babu Karunamaya Banerji.

IV. That a Committee consisting of the follwing gentlemen with power to add to the number be appointed to carry out the above Resolutions and put themselves in communication with the Central Committee in Calcutta to adopt such measures as may be deemed necessary :—

COMMITTEE.

Baboo Vijaya Krishna Mukerji
„ Vama Churn Banerji
„ Jadu Nauth Mukerji
„ Vireswara Chatterji
„ Monmotha Chatterji

VIJOY KRISHNA MUKERJI.

JONYE.

XIV

AT a Public Meeting held on Sunday the 26th of June in the premises of the late Babu Ramanarayana Mukerji for the purpose of considering the propriety of memorialising the Secretary of State for India with regard to the proposed withdrawal of state assistance from the higher Education in this country.

Babu Taraka Nauth Mukerji took the chair.

The following resolutions were then moved and unanimously adopted after they had been fully discussed.

Proposed by Babu Heeralall Banerji and seconded by Babu Saradaprosada Banerji.

I. That this meeting strongly deprecates the educational policy of the Government of India, published in the supplement to the *Gazette of India*, dated 7th May 1780, as being unsound and

unjust in principle, unsuited to the present circumstances of this Province, and calculated to retard its progress.

Proposed by Babu Anupa Chunder Mookerji and seconded by Babu Jadu Nauth Banerji.

II. That this meeting believing as it does that it is the middle class of the people who, though they are respectable by birth, are generally possessed of limited means, and not the wealthy classes alone that avail themselves of the existing educational institutions, desires respectfully to dissent from the opinion held by the Government, that the classes of the population to whom an advanced education is given are able to provide for their own education, and have ample inducement to do so without pecuniary assistance from the State.

Proposed by Babu Dino Nauth Mukerji and seconded by Babu Nondalall Mukerji.

III. That in the opinion of this meeting the elevation of the mass of the people, which the Government proposes to advance by withdrawing a part, if not the whole of its contribution to English education and devoting it to Vernacular education, will be secured in a more effectual though indirect manner by promoting a high intellectual culture among the middle classes, as it is by this means alone that sound Vernacular literature, which must constitute the principal instrument for elevating the people, can be formed.

Proposed by Babu Nondalall Mookerji and seconded by Babu Harish Chunder Mookerji.

IV. That as the practical effect of this policy would be to give the missionaries a monopoly of the work of education, this meeting desires to record its religious objections against such a result, and is also of opinion that high education is likely to suffer serious injury in the hands of men who have always been most zealous to lower the standard of it.

Proposed by Babu Saradaprosad Banerji and seconded by Babu Jadu Nauth Mukerji.

V. That this meeting, while it thoroughly recognises the necessity and importance of the education of the mass, is of opi-

mon that the natural course of education to reach those classes is from above downwards, and believes that that the lower people of this country have already commenced to avail themselves of the existing educational machinary, so that it may reasonably be hoped that a gradual extension of the Vernacular and Patshala system will eventually place education within the reach of the meanest day laborer.

Proposed by Baboo Jodu Nath Mookerjea seconded by Baboo Prana Kishno Mookerjea

VI. That the following memorandum containing the views of this meeting on the educational policy of Government, and the Resolution adopted in this meeting be forwarded to the British Indian Association for such use as it may deem fit to make of them at their Educational Meeting of 2nd July 1870.

TARAKA NAUTH MUKERJI.

MOUREE.

XV

মহামান্য ভারতবর্ষীয় সভার

শ্রীযুক্ত সভ্য মহোদয়গণ সমীপেষু।

বিহিত সম্মান পূর্ব্বক নিবেদনম্

বাঙ্গালা দেশে উচ্চতর ইংরাজী শিক্ষা বিষয়ে সাহয্য দান রহিত করিবার জন্য আমাদিগের ভারতবর্ষীয় গবর্ণমেণ্ট যে নিদারুণ প্রস্তাব করিয়াছেন, তাহা আমাদের সর্ব্বনাশের হেতু ও বঙ্গভূমির উন্নতিদ্বারে লৌহময় অর্গলস্বরূপ। এই প্রস্তাব শ্রবণে আমরা বজ্রাহতের ন্যায় হইয়া রহিয়াছি, ইতিকর্ত্তব্যতা জ্ঞান একবারেই অন্তর্হিত হইয়াছে। যুক্তির অনুসরণ নিষ্প্রয়োজন। যখন বঙ্গভূমিতে ইংরাজী শিক্ষালতাকে তেজস্বিনী ও সুজাত পুষ্পফলে পরিশোভিনী প্রত্যক্ষ করিয়াও রাজপুরুষেরা ইহার উচ্ছেদ সাধনে কৃতসংকল্প ও বদ্ধপরিকর হইয়াছেন তখন যুক্তি প্রদর্শন দ্বারা তাঁহাদের অনুগ্রহ লাভের চেষ্টা, অন্ধের হস্তে দর্পণ প্রদানের ন্যায় কখনই ফলোপধায়িনী হইবার নহে। এক্ষণে এই অন্যায় ও নৃশংস প্রস্তাব শ্রীশ্রীমতী মহারাণীর সুগোচর করা একান্ত প্রয়োজনীয় বলিয়া আমাদের

অন্তঃকরণে উদয় হইতেছে। তাঁহার প্রসাদালোক ব্যতিরেকে আক্রমণোন্মুখ নিবিড় ধ্বান্ত প্রতিরোধের আর গত্যন্তর নাই। আপনারা ভারতবর্ষের মুখস্বরূপ, সুতরাং আপনাদের সহায়তা ব্যতিরেকে আমাদিগের এই আর্ত্তনাদ প্রজাবৎসলা মূর্ত্তিমতী দয়ারূপিণী আমাদিগের ইংলণ্ডস্থা জননীর শ্রুতিগোচর হইবার বিষয় নহে। অতএব সকরুণ প্রার্থনা অনুকম্পা প্রদর্শন পূর্ব্বক আমাদিগের এই অভিলাষ পূর্ণ করিতে আজ্ঞা হয়, অলমতি বাহুল্যেন ইতি

একান্ত বশম্বদানাং

২২ শে জুন ১৮৭০। গঙ্গাহরি চট্টরাজ

৪২৫।

MIDNAPORE.

XVI

Resolutions passed at a meeting at Midnapore held on the 12th June, 1870.

Resolved that the meeting express its unqualified disapproval of the extremely one-sided view of the Government of India in the proposed withdrawal of State assistance from English Education, as being detrimental to the progress and prosperity of the nation.

2. That this meeting co-operate with the Calcutta meeting in memorializing His Grace the Secretary of State for India on the subject.

3. That representatives from this District be deputed to Calcutta to express the views of this meeting.

4. That it be suggested to the Calcutta meeting to consider the propriety of requesting the East Indian Association in London to further the object of this national movement.

5. That a committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to carry out the object of this meeting and that Babu Vipinvehari Datta be appointed Secretary to the Committee.

Babu Vishnuchuran Biswas.
" Anantaram Ghose.
" Kapaliprasanna Mookerjea.
" Ramakhoy Chatterjee.
" Sayama Charan Dass.
" Piyarimohan Mittra.
" Bhupendra Nath Dey.
" Bhola Nath Chakrabarti.
" Sagar Chandra Bose.
" Gangadhar Acharjee.
" Vipinvehari Datta.

That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Calcutta meeting.

VIPINVEHARI DATTA,
Honorary Secretary.

BEERBHOOM.

SUDDER STATION.

XVII

To

BABU JOTEENDRO MOHUN TAGORE,

Honry. Secy. to the British Indian Association Calcutta.

SIR,—I am directed by the Managing Committee appointed by a meeting of the inhabitants and the residents of Beerbhoom; held on the 11th instant, to forward to your Association a copy of the Bengallee Newspaper of the 18th idem which contains a substantially faithful report of the proceedings thereof and to inform you that the meeting has unanimously expressed its sympathies in favor of the cause of English Education to which the Association have lent their able advocacy.

2. The Committee further desire me to say that they will be prepared to heartily co-operate and act in concert with your Association in the measures they or the Central Meeting about

to be held at the Presidency may deem fit to pursue with reference to the national demonstration against the present Educational Policy of Lord Mayo's Government.

3. I am also directed to say that the Committee have not thought fit to prepare a separate memorial against the principles of that policy but will feel obliged if you will favor them with a copy of the Memorial that may be drawn up and adopted at the Central Meeting in order that signatures of the people of Beerbhoom may be obtained thereto.

4. In conclusion I am to inform your Association that the Committee have selected Baboo Dwarka Nauth Chuckerbutty, one of their body, to represent Beerbhoom at the coming Central Meeting.

I have the Honor to be,
Sir :
Your most obdt. Servt.
SARODA PROSAD CHATTERJEE,
Secy. to the Committee of the
Beerbhoom Education Meeting.

Beerbhoom, the 21st June, 1870.

SOOREE.

XVIII

মান্যবরেষু।

স্কুল সম্বন্ধে এক খানি কাগজ হেতমপুর নিবাসী শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু রামরঞ্জন চক্রবর্ত্তী জমীদার মহাশয় আপনকার নিকট প্রেরণাদেশে এজনের নিকট প্রেরণ করায় উপরোক্ত কাগজ প্রেরণ করিলাম। ইতি সন ১৮৭০। ৩০ জুন।

শ্রীমহানন্দ চৌধুরী
মোং শিহুড়ীর মেনেজরি
কাছারির সেরেস্তাদার।

ব্রিটিশ ইণ্ডিয়ান এসোসিএসনের অনরেরী সেক্রেটরী শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু জ্যোতীন্দ্রমোহন ঠাকুর মহাশয়ের অভিপ্রায় মতে আমি মহোদয়গণকে নিবেদন করিতেছি যে, বঙ্গদেশস্থ উচ্চশ্রেণীর যে

সকল ইংরাজী বিদ্যালয় ও যে সকল ইংরাজী বঙ্গ বিদ্যালয় এপর্য্যন্ত গবর্ণমেণ্ট হইতে অর্থাদি সাহায্য প্রাপ্ত হইতেছে সেই সকল বিদ্যালয় সম্বন্ধে গবর্ণমেণ্টের দেয় সাহায্য এবালিস অর্থাৎ উঠাইবার যে প্রস্তাবটী শ্রীল শ্রীযুক্ত গবর্ণর জেনরল সাহেব করিতেছেন তাহা বঙ্গ দেশের পক্ষে অত্যন্ত অশুভদায়ক বলিয়া যাঁহারা অনুমোদন করেন তাঁহারা অনুগ্রহ করিয়া আপন আপন নাম স্বাক্ষর করিবেন ইতি সন ১৮৭০ সাল ১৯ জুন বাং সন ১২৭৭ সাল ৬ই আষাঢ়।

GOPALPORE.

XIX

ভারতবর্ষীয় গবর্ণমেণ্টের এতদ্দেশে ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষা দানে সাহায্য রহিত করিবার অভিপ্রায় শুনিয়া জেলা বীরভূমের অন্তর্গত গোপালপুর ও তন্নিকটস্থ অধিবাসিগণ আমরা অদ্য ইং ১৮৭০ সালের ২৬শে জুন বাং ১২৭৭ সালের ১৩ই আষাঢ় বেলা অপরাহ্ণ ৩ ঘটিকার সময় গোপালপুরের স্কুলগৃহে এক সভা আহ্বান করিয়া উপরোক্ত বিষয় সম্বন্ধে অনেক তর্ক বিতর্ক করার পর যে সকল মত স্থির হইল তাহা নিম্নে লিখিত হইতেছে।

১। ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষা ব্যতীত কেবল দেশীয় ভাষা অধ্যয়ন দ্বারা এক্ষণকার নূতন বিজ্ঞান ও ইতিহাস ও পদার্থ বিদ্যায় উৎকৃষ্ট জ্ঞান জন্মে না, কারণ অদ্যাপি ঐ সকল বিষয়ের বাঙ্গালা ভাষায় আবশ্যকীয় পুস্তক রচিত হয় নাই এবং ইউরোপ ও আমেরিকা খণ্ডের লোকদিগের ন্যায় নূতন নূতন আবিষ্ক্রিয়া বিষয়ের ফল ভোগ করা ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষা সাপেক্ষ।

২। গবর্ণমেণ্টের সাহায্য ব্যতীত এ দেশে ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষা উত্তম রূপ চলিতে পারে না, কারণ ঐ সকল ভাষা শিক্ষা করিতে যে রূপ অর্থ ব্যয় আবশ্যক, অধিকাংশ বাঙ্গালিদিগের অবস্থা এরূপ নহে যে তদ্রূপ অর্থ ব্যয় করিতে সমর্থ হন। যে সকল যুবকেরা কৃতবিদ্য হন তন্মধ্যে অধিকাংশই মধ্যম শ্রেণীর লোক, তাহাদের মধ্যে অনেকে গবর্ণমেণ্টদত্ত ছাত্রবৃত্তির সাহায্যে বিদ্যাশিক্ষায় কৃতকার্য্য হন। ইংলণ্ড প্রভৃতি দেশের ন্যায় বঙ্গদেশীয় লোকেরা ধনবান্ নহেন, যখন ইংলণ্ড ও ইউরোপীয় অন্যান্য রাজ্যে উচ্চতর শিক্ষার জন্য গবর্ণমেণ্ট হইতে প্রচুর সাহায্য দেওয়া হয়

তখন এদেশে উচ্চতর শিক্ষাবিষয়ে গবর্ণমেণ্টসাহায্য রহিত করা যুক্তিসিদ্ধ নহে।

৩। এ দেশে ইংরাজদিগের ঔদাস্য ও বদান্যতা এবং সভ্যতার চিহ্ন স্বরূপ যে বিদ্যাবৃক্ষ ইংরাজ গবর্ণমেণ্ট কর্ত্তৃক রোপিত হইয়াছে এবং যাহার উন্নতি জন্য এক শত বৎসর পর্য্যন্ত গবর্ণমেণ্ট নানা প্রকার যত্ন ও অর্থব্যয় করিয়া আসিতেছেন, ঐ বৃক্ষ ফলবতী হইবার সময়ে উহাকে উৎপাটন করা গবর্ণমেণ্টের পক্ষে নিষ্ঠুরতা এবং আমাদের পক্ষে যার পর নাই দুঃখের বিষয়।

৪। ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষার সাহায্য রহিত করার বিশিষ্ট কারণ আমরা বুঝিতে পারিলাম না, যদি বলা যায় গবর্ণমেণ্টের আয় ব্যয়ের অবস্থা মন্দ কিন্তু প্রকৃত পক্ষে গবর্ণমেণ্টের আয় ব্যয়ের তালিকা দৃষ্টে পূর্ব্বাপেক্ষা অধিক আয় দৃষ্ট হয়; তবে ব্যয় অনেক বৃদ্ধি হইয়াছে ঐ ব্যয়ের মধ্যে অপেক্ষাকৃত অনাবশ্যকীয় ব্যয় রহিত করিয়া নিতান্ত আবশ্যকীয় বিদ্যাশিক্ষার ব্যয় নির্ব্বাহ করিবার বন্দোবস্ত গবর্ণমেণ্ট অনায়াসে করিতে পারেন।

৫। ইংরাজী ভাষায় ভাবী শিক্ষিত হইবার আশায় দেশীয় বাঙ্গালা ভাষা অনেকে শিক্ষা করিয়া থাকেন। ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষা করিবার আশা না থাকিলে বহু যত্নের সহিত বাঙ্গালা ভাষা শিক্ষা করিবেন না সুতরাং কেবল বাঙ্গালা ভাষা শিক্ষা দিয়া প্রজাদিগকে সভ্য করার আশা বিফল হইবে। এবং এদেশে যে সময়ে যে ভাষা রাজভাষা হয়, সেই ভাষাই সকলে আগ্রহ পূর্ব্বক শিক্ষা করে, সেই ভাষা শিক্ষায় অসুবিধা ঘটিলে দেশের নিতান্ত দুরবস্থা হইবার সম্ভাবনা; অতএব আমাদের উপরোক্ত অভিপ্রায় গুলি ভারতবর্ষীয় সভার কমিটির নিকট পাঠান কর্ত্তব্য স্থির হইল।

KANKSHA.

XX

ভারতবর্ষীয় গবর্ণমেণ্ট এতদ্দেশে ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষাদানে সাহায্য রহিত করিবার অভিপ্রায় শুনিয়া জেলা বীরভূমের অন্তর্গত কাঁকসা ও তন্নিকটস্থ অধিবাসিগণ।

আমরা অদ্য ১৮৭০ সালের ২৯শে জুন বাং ১২৭৭ সালের ১৬ই আষাঢ় বেলা অপরাহ্ণ ৫ ঘটিকার সময় মোং কাঁকসার স্কুলগৃহে সভা করিয়া উল্লিখিত বিষয়ে তর্ক বিতর্ক করণানন্তর এই বিষয়ে

যে মত স্থির হইল তাহা মহাশয়দিগের সুগোচরার্থে নিম্নে নিবেদন করিতেছি।

১। অতি প্রাচীন কালে ভারতবর্ষ উন্নতি হইবার উপক্রম হইয়াছিল কিন্তু যবন রাজাদিগের অধিকার কালে সেই উন্নতির বীজ সর্ব্বতোভাবে নিরাকৃত হইয়াছিল। পরে এ দেশীয়দের সৌভাগ্যক্রমে ইংরাজ মহোদয়গণ অধিকার করিয়া অবধি এ দেশের উন্নতি সাধন করিবার জন্য যত্নবান্ ছিলেন; ইহাতে এ দেশীয়দিগের মনে এরূপ দৃঢ় প্রতীতি হইয়াছিল যে ইংরাজগণ শিক্ষাদান বিষয়ে ঔদার্য্য প্রকাশ পূর্ব্বক তাহাদিগকে আপনাদের ন্যায় ধনী, মানী, জ্ঞানী ও সুসভ্য করিতে অভিপ্রায় করিয়াছেন কিন্তু সম্প্রতি শিক্ষাদানে সাহায্যরহিতকরণরূপ হৃদয়বিদারক সংবাদ কর্ণগোচর হওয়াতে এ দেশীয় জনগণ একেবারে অধঃপতিত হইল।

২। কলিকাতা এবং অন্যান্য স্থানে কতিপয় ধনাঢ্য ভিন্ন এ দেশে এমন কোন সমৃদ্ধিশালী নাই যে, তাহারা রাজানুকূল্য ব্যতিরেকে আপনাপন সন্তান সন্ততিদিগকে ইংরাজী বিদ্যা শিখাইবার জন্য বিদ্যালয় স্থাপন করিবার সম্যক্ ব্যয় সম্পন্ন করিয়া উঠেন, যে হেতু তাঁহারা সামান্য ব্যবসা দ্বারা জীবিকা নির্ব্বাহ করেন।

৩। আমাদের দেশীয় ভাষায় ইয়ুরোপ ও আমেরিকার আবিষ্কৃত বিজ্ঞান শাস্ত্রাদি অনুবাদ না হওয়ায়, ইংরাজী শিক্ষা ভিন্ন কেবল বঙ্গভাষা শিক্ষাতে যথার্থ জ্ঞানের উদয় হইবার সম্ভবনা নাই; অতএব সভ্যতার বীজ রোপণ করিতে হইলে ইংরাজী ভাষা এতদ্দেশে অত্যন্ত প্রয়োজনীয়।

৪। ইংরাজী ভাষা শিক্ষারম্ভাবধি ইংরাজী ভাষায় কৃতবিদ্য যুবকেরা মিথ্যা প্রবঞ্চনা উৎকোচ গ্রহণ প্রভৃতি পাপ পরিত্যাগ করিতে সর্ব্বদা যত্নবান এবং তাহারা ধর্ম্মে দৃষ্টি রাখিয়া সন্তুষ্ট চিত্তে রাজাজ্ঞা পালন করিতেছে ইংরাজী শিক্ষা অভাবে পাপেরই প্রাদুর্ভাব হইবে।

৫। প্রজাদের জ্ঞান ধর্ম্ম উন্নতি করিয়া তাহাদের মুখ বর্দ্ধন করা রাজার কর্ত্তব্য এবং ধার্ম্মিক রাজারা এরূপ করিয়া থাকেন কিন্তু ইংরাজ গবর্ণমেন্ট এরূপ ধার্ম্মিক ও বিবেচক হইয়াও যে এরূপ প্রজাদের হৃদয় বিদারণকারী ভবিষ্যৎ উন্নতির কণ্টক স্বরূপ কার্য্যে প্রবৃত্ত হইয়াছেন ইহা আমাদিগের নিতান্ত দুর্ভাগ্য।

BANCOORAH

XXI

To the Honorary Secretary,

British Indian Association,

Calcutta.

Sir,—We, the undersigned inhabitants of the District of Bancoorah, beg to express our extreme regret at the Resolution of the Government of India proposing to withdraw the support which it has hitherto extended to liberal education of the people of this country.

The people have not as yet arrived at such a stage of advancement, and high English Education has not yet reached so considerable portion even of the higher classes as to warrant the hope that the institutions which have hitherto been the seat of that education should be maintained by the people whose children are educated there with slight aid from Government. We are bound to declare that people of social position and respectability in this District, though anxious to procure for their children a high standard of English Education such as is at present available in Government Schools, are yet unable to provide for it. Should the State reduce its support it has hitherto given to the English School here and other similar and higher institutions in other districts, the cost of education will be so high that the reduction will amount to an entire denial of education.

It is the duty of Government to keep superior English Education within the reach of the higher classes without which Society will collapse to the condition in which it was a century ago.

We have desired one of ourselves Babu Upendra Chunder Mookhopadhya to appear at the Calcutta Meeting to represent our educational interest.

We cordially join the Association in memorializing Her Majesty's Government in England, praying that the Govern-

ment of this country be directed to continue its support to the cause of English Education as heretofore.

RAYA GADADHARA BANERJI BAHADUR
AND BY 120 NATIVE GENTLEMEN.

Bancoorah, 27th June 1870.

RAJSHAYE DIVISION.

RAMPORE BAULEAH.

XXII

SIR,—Agreeably to your letter dated the 10th instant a Meeting of the inhabitants and educated natives of Rampore Bauleah was convened in the Bauleah Lokanatha School premises this day at 7 P. M.

The meeting unanimously expressed their hearty thanks to the members of the British Indian Association for the interest they are taking in so important a subject as the proposed protest against the proposal of Government for the withdrawal of state aid to English Education.

The meeting fully agree with your Association in thinking that His Grace the Secretary of State for India should be memorialised on the subject and have appointed Babu Yadavachandra Sarkara of the Rajshaye bar to express the opinion of inhabitants and residents of Rajshaye to the public meeting to be held in Calcutta on the 2nd proximo under the auspices of your Association.

I am, &c.,
KALINATHA DEV.

29th June, 1870.

NATORE.

XXIII

Resolution I.

Proposed by Kumar Kumud Nath Raya Bahadoor and seconded by Moulavi Mahomed Rushid Khan Chowdhury that Rajah Pramatha Natha Raya Bahadoor of Dighaputea he asked to preside over the Meeting.

The president in a suitable speech which continued for about a quarter of an hour opened the business of the Meeting and explained the disastrous effects which would be felt by the withdrawal of Government support from high English education. The speaker dwelt at great length upon the good results that have accrued since the establishment of the Calcutta University in 1855 to the present date, specifying the number of Graduates that have every year been sent forth after the completion of their collegiate education into the world at large and in societies where only few years before really educated men could have been counted on fingers, dwelling on the good results that are now being felt by every member of society from these educated men of our country either in social or political improvements. He went back to 1835 when Government first with very great difficulty instituted the Hindu College describing the different phases that have from time to time been assuming in the educational policy of Government, illustrating thereby the high aptitude for learning and doing ample justice to the care and solicitude of the paternal Government, although they were bound by the rules of good Government to do what they did; for us for it is not the singular instance with the British Government alone to have supported and educated their subjects but on a reference to History we find similar and liberal instances with all other civilized Governments. Here the Chairman concluded his speech amid loud cheers from the respectable gathering of about one hundred gentlemen.

RESOLUTION II.

Proposed by Kumar Kumud Nath Raya Bahadoor and seconded by Babu Lukshmy Narayan Lahory that the withdrawal of the Government support from high English education is unjust and is likely to prove disadvantageous to the country.

RESOLUTION III.

Proposed by Babu Tara Nauth Chowdhry Zemindar of Natore and seconded by Babu Gudadhur Khan that the Meeting place itself in communication with the British Indian Association with a view to move the assembly to memorialize Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India against the present policy of Government on the Education Question.

Babu Gudadhur Khan in seconding the Resolution made a suitable speech of about 20 minutes duration in which he expatiated on the improvements of the country derived from English education. He dwelt principally on the policy of Government about educating the masses which he said would be a great failure inasmuch as the Bengali Language was too limited to impart any sound knowledge in them. They will eventually have the same training which our old Gurumohashoys were in the habit of giving sometime ago, which training consisted in teaching them the primary rules of arithmetic and a rudimentary knowledge about letter-writing. Allowing the present policy to stand it did not appear to him to be sound because the masses will never be at all educated so as to be useful members of Society nor appreciate it for the sake of knowledge itself.

The speaker pointed out the good results that have accrued from the old educational policy of Government by illustrating the efficiency displayed by educated natives almost in every branch of Government service and it would be sheer injustice now if Government should throw cold water on the warm enthusiasm of the rising generation by withdrawing their support and thereby education itself.

RESOLUTION IV.

Proposed by Babu Saroda Persaud Sookul, Zemindar, and seconded by Babu Behary Laul Banerjea that a Committee consisting of Rajah Chunder Nauth Roy Bahadoor, of Natore, Rajah Promotha Natha Raya Bahadoor of Dighaputea, Kumar Kumud Nauth Roy Bahadoor, Moulavi Mahomed Rusheed Khan Chowdry, Babu Tara Nauth Chowdry, Babu Gudadhur Khan, and Meanh Fuzla Ruhuman Khan Chowdry be appointed Members to carry on the business.

N. B.—The Meeting was attended by upwards of hundred persons consisting of Zemindars, Talookdars, Officials, Non-Officials, and the Agents of all those respectable Zemindars of Rajshahi who were unable to attend.

PUBNA.

SUDDER STATION.

XXIV

AT a meeting of the Native Residents at Pubna held on the 19th June 1870 to take into consideration the steps which ought to be taken against the Educational policy of the Government of India.

Proposed by Babu Harisa Chundra Sarma and carried unanimously that Babu Ananda Mohuna Majumdara be elected to preside at this meeting.

Proposed by Babu Rama Gopala Dutta Bahadoor and carried unanimously that Babu Harisa Chundra Sarma act as Secretary.

After the object of the meeting was explained to the gentlemen present the following resolutions were passed :—

I. That the inhabitants of this district have become very apprehensive as to the views of the Indian Government respecting the cause of higher education of the Natives of this country, which when carried into effect will bring a greater

calamity than any that has come upon the land, the rates of fees in the Educational institutions of this country are already high and any sudden enhancement will produce the effect of closing those institutions against the childern of the middle classes :—

II. That the Secretary be requested to go down to Calcutta and represent the people of this district at the general meeting to be held on the 2nd proximo.

III. That in the opinion of this meeting a memorial signed by the inhabitants of Bengal be sent to the Secretary of State, to put a stop to the policy of the Indian Government with a request that should it be disinclined to accede to the prayers of Her Majesty's native subjects they may be laid before the British Parliament.

IV. That if the financial difficulty of the Indian Government be the only cause of its present Educational policy, suggestions be made to raise the necessary funds for maintaining the Colleges and Schools in their present footing by some indirect tax, as the natives of this country are not so far advanced as to take into their own hands the Education of their children.

HARISA CHUNDRA SARMA.

CUMARKHALI.

XXV

A GENERAL meeting was held on the 26th day of June 1870 at the Cumarkhali Government Aided School and the following gentlemen residents and inhabitants of the Sub-division of Cumarkhali were present.

Babus Krishna Chundra Roy.
„ Krishna Sundar Mazoomdar.
„ Krishna Dhon Muzoomdar.
„ Muthura Nauth Kundoo.
„ Haro Lall Chowdhury.

Babus Brojo Lall Mootra.
„ Futtick Chándra Muzoomdar.
„ Pran Nauth Shaha.
„ Mathura Nauth Kar.
„ Gopal Krishna Chakrabarti.
„ Bhuban Mohun Biswas.
„ Kanye Lall Shaha.
„ Jogendra Coomar Roy.
„ Ram Lall Pal.
„ Hari Charun Lahory.
„ Umanath Sein.
„ Kedar Nath Joardar.
„ Gobin Chandra Dutt.
„ Naffer Chándra Coondu.
„ Ramdhon Mazoomdar.
„ Hurri Nauth Muzoomdar.
„ Ram Tanoo Shaha.
„ Peary Mohun Gupta.
„ Krishna Chandra Coondu.
„ Ramgopal Shaha.
„ Purma Nund Shaha.
„ Hari Nath Shaha.
„ Umesh Chandra Sircar.
„ Gonesh Chandra Sanial
„ Makund Nath Muzoomdar.
„ Jogessar Coondoo.
„ Pran Nath Chuckerbutty.
„ Uma Nath Sein.
„ Modhu Soodun Shaha.
Sheikh Munniruddin.

I. Babu Hari Nath Mazoomdar proposed that Babu Krishna Chandra Roy be requested to take the chair and preside over the Meeting and Babu Krishna Sundar Mazoomdar act as Secretary to the meeting. The proposition was seconded by Babu Ram Dhun Mazoomdar and accorded to by all the native gentlemen present.

Babu Krishna Chundra Rai then took the chair and read to the meeting a letter from Babu Joteendra Mohun Tagore Honorary Secretary to the British Indian Association dated 13th June 1870 to the address of Babu Krishna Sunder Majumdar. The native gentlemen present regret deeply and severely to learn from the letter just read the proposed withdrawal of State assistance to English Education in this country. Such withdrawal would be virtually cutting off almost all the natives of Bengal from all means of educating their children. During the last 10 years the country has undergone such a great change in education and in the progress of civilization that without high education in the English Language a man will find it a matter of impossibility even to get on with the ordinary avocation of his life. To be deprived at a time like the present of the blessings of a liberal education is a matter of most lamentable to the community at large.

As the Cumarkhali meeting has no opportunity to send its representatives to be present at the general meeting to be held in the Town Hall under the auspices of the British Indian Association the gentlemen present found it their duty to record their sense and sentiments as expressed above and consider it as of grave importance to memorialize His Grace the Secretary of State for India on the subject for which purpose, the meeting would take the liberty to submit a copy of their this day's proceedings to the Honorary Secretary to the British Indian Association for the purpose of being laid before the Calcutta meeting.

KRISHNA SOONDRA MAZOOMDAR,
ANANDA LALLA MAZOOMDAR,
And Several others.

DINAJPUR.

XXVI

AT a public Meeting held at Dinajpur on the 27th June 1870 with reference to the requisition of the British Indian Associa-

tion dated the 4th June current, with a view to consider the property of memorialising His Grace the Secretary of State in Council for India, on the subject of the proposed withdrawal of State assistance from English Education in this country, the following resolutions were adopted for transmission to the British India Association.

I. The necessity for English Education to ameliorate the condition of the natives of this country had to be obstinately fought by such men as Lord Macaulay. Such a necessity has been fully admitted by Government by the establishment of Colleges and Schools. The country owes to it its present progress and prosperity and is indebted for all the reforms and improvements of which it can boast. A civilized Government as that under which we live would be the last to ignore or deny the blessings of the intellectual and moral development of the people. And it must be said to the eternal glory and honor of England that she has been an instrument in the hands of Providence to bring about the present cheering state of affairs in regard to the blessings of education among our Countrymen. But to the misfortune of the country the Government proposes to stop now when a hankering after knowledge and information created in the minds of the people and the cheering rays of civilization and enlightment have only began to remove the dreary gloom of ignorance and prejudices in which the country was immersed for years.

2nd. In trying to free the state from the charge of English Education the Government of India has not only ignored the peculiar circumstances under which the English education was introduced into this country, but has also entirely lost sight of the manner in which higher education is imparted in England and other civilized countries in the world, there is perhaps no country of which we are aware is the education of youths self-supporting in the literal and strict sense of the term. In some European countries the more important educational institutions, the universities and public school, are kept up partly by the fees of scholars and partly by the profits of lands and funds appropriated for that purpose either by the sovereign or private donors. In others the fees of students

are largely supplemented by direct contributions from imperial Revenue. Liberal endowments from individuals in this country cannot be much depended upon in furthering a foreign education is so new to the country, its spirit is opposed to the orthodox and the moneyed class, the aristocracy far from cherishing a true love for it looks on it with an eye of disfavour and views it as a most disagreeable innovation which they could most gladly put down if they could, where an innovation becomes national and is mixed up with the dearest things of life, when it has gained a footing in the imagination of men and when it is ndissolubly interwoven with the national glory and honour it is then and only then that philanthropy and charity, a love of fame and love of virtue works at the minds of men and induces them to open their purse string and make the endowments and foundations for educational purposes. And who will deny that none of these motives in favour of English education exist in Bengal. And is it at all strange that private donations are neither large nor numerous for the maintenance of colleges and schools? And when this source of Revenue for the diffusion of education which exists in other countries is cut of in this by its peculiar condition in what manner should this deficiency be supplied, except by the liberal from the state?

3rd. The proposed discontinuance of State education to the middle class of the people who compose the majority in our colleges and schools, has naturally filled the mind of all educated natives with fear and suspicion. This proposal, unlike others of more sectional character made by Government from time to time, affects the interest of every class of native community. It is therefore most earnestly hoped that His Grace the Secretary in Council for India will give all considerations to the grave and momentous question which involves the dearest and holiest interest of the millions of the inhabitants of the country whose well-being and prosperity is entrusted into his hands.

(Sd.) KRISHNA KUMAR SEN,
Secretary.

DINAJPORE ST. *June, 27th* 1870.

RANGPUR.

XXVII

Resolutions.

1. That this meeting while admitting the duty of the Government to apply a part of its resources to the Vernacular education of the masses, protests strongly against the proposed withdrawal of the state assistance from English education in Bengal ; inasmuch as it will throw the management and support of our English schools and colleges upon the middle class people, who alone appreciate the benefit of such education, whose circumstances are not so prosperous as to enable them to undertake unassisted such an onerous and responsible task ; it will be virtually put a stop to high education of the country.

2. That this meeting is also deliberately of opinion that the progress of vernacular education of this country is entirely dependent on that of the English as is evident from the fact that the vernacular language has been enriched by the labor of the English-educated natives.

3. That this meeting therefore considers it highly necessary to memorialise the Secretary of State for India in Council through the British Indian Association in Calcutta on the unjustness and inexpediency of the education policy of the Supreme Government as published in the Supplement to the *India Gazette* dated 7th May 1870.

4. That this meeting further considers it desirable to request the British Indian Association in co-operation with the East India Association in London to adopt such measures as to arouse public opinion and secure the sympathy of the British Public in favor of the continuance of the state assistance to English education.

BOGRAH.

XXVIII

A PUBLIC Meeting of the Native inhabitants of Bograh was held on Sunday the 26th June 1870, to discuss the propriety or otherwise of memorializing His Grace the Secretary of State for India on the subject of the proposed withdrawal of state assistance from English Education in this country; the committee considering that such memorial under the present circumstances is essentially necessary: have resolved to co-operate with the central committee at Calcutta, and to abide by their decision. The Committee will be happy to contribute according to their means, if required in the furtherance of the views of the central committee on the subject.

CHUNDRA RAKHALA VASU,

AND 450 OTHERS.

MURSHEDABAD.

BERHAMPUR.

XXIX

ON the 24th June current at a meeting held in the Grant Hall in Berhampur for the purpose of taking into consideration the present policy of Government bearing on the question of the proposed withdrawal of Imperial aid from English education were present.

Raja Narendra Narayana Raya.
Rev. Lala Vehari Day.
Babus Prana Kishna Mookerjee.
,, Rajiva Lochana Raya.
,, Pulina Vehari Sena.

Pandita Gangadhara Kaviratna Kaviraja.

Babus Prana Krishna Vagchi.
„ Vansidhara Raya.
„ Gangagovinda Bhattacharji.
„ Digamvara Bisvasa.
„ Bankima Chandra Chatterji, B. A.
„ Haridasa Ghosh.
„ Kedar Natha Mahata.
„ Srinatha Mookerji.
„ Gopi Chand Setia.

Raja Dhanapati Singha Dughar Bahadur.

Babus Hari Sing Boid.
„ Gurudasa Banerji, M. A.
„ Dina Natha Ganguli.
„ Matilala Banerji.
„ Akshaya Cumara Sarakara.
„ Sasibhushana Mookerji.
„ Isana Chandra Raya.
„ Syamacharana Bhatta.
„ Joya Narayana Vasu.
„ Nilamani Ganguli.
„ Syama Charana Mookerji.
„ Ramagati Nyayaratna.
„ Ananda Lala Ganguli.
„ Grisa Chandra.
„ Kirtic Chandra Banerji.
„ Bhavani Kissori Chakravarti.
„ Ganga Charana Nandi.
„ Kedara Natha Sanyala.
„ Kaliprasada Ghosh.

And many other gentlemen. Letters came from Nowab Mansur Ali Khan Bahadoor and Nowab Lain-ul-abdeen Khan Bahadoor expressing their regret for their inability to attend the meeting in consequence of ill-health. Letters to the same effect also came from Hurrukchand Galeeha and Hurrukchand Nowbeekha &c.

The work of the Committee began at 5-30 P. M. by the election of Raja Narendranarayan Ray Bahadoor as the President who made an opening speech to the following effect:

"It affords me great pleasure to see that our countrymen can unite together to discuss a question which to a very great extent affects the welfare of our country. Very probably you are all aware of the object for which we have this day met together: we are to take into consideration the present policy of our Government with regard to the withdrawal of the state aid from English education. &c. &c.

Babu Rajivalochana Raya in moving the first resolution made some remarks and gave a rapid sketch of the educational history of the country under the Hindu, the Mahomedan and the English Governments in succession and said "Is the great literature of England and Scotland incapable of developing the intellect, and is Bengali literature better capable of doing it? Is Bengali literature richer and purer than the English or is it not wholly insufficient for any educational purpose? If it is so why is English education sought to be sacrificed to the Bengal? Is it aiding intellectual development to proscribe the study of foreign languages? Will it help the intellectual progress of England to proscribe in the scheme of English education the study of Latin and Greek, French and German. Every branch of Imperial administration pays itself wholly or in part. The Military, the ordinary Public works and the Educational Departments are alone unproductive,—Is that a ground for interfering with the present system of education. Abolish then the public works too. Put down education if you like, because it does not bring in a revenue, but it will not be cheap. Put down education and you will have to increase the military and the police. You will have to substitute physical for moral forces. The native who has received an English education appreciates the English Government best and is the strongest bond, almost the only connecting link of sympathy between Governors and the Governed. Remove him from his place and the Governors and the Governed will not know each other, the English educated native is the most loyal subject of the British

Government the troubles of 1857-58 proved him to be such. Everywhere he stood firm to the English cause and after suffered for the English cause.

1st, that this meeting, while feeling deeply grateful to the British Government for the manifold benefits, which it has conferred on the people of this country, by diffusing education through the medium of the English language, cannot but contemplate with the greatest sorrows the proposed withdrawal of State aid from English education.

This resolution was seconded by Babu Baikanthanatha Sena who made some remarks as follows :

"We all are grateful to the Government for the diffusion of English education and hear that the Government will no longer continue any aid to English education is not a matter of little sorrow for us : Our grief is proportionate to the benefits we have derived from the knowledge conveyed to us through the medium of English language. To think that what has emboldened and impelled us to convene this meeting for questioning the soundness of a Government policy will no longer be the lot of future generations is really heart-rending. * * * * * *
The unhealthy state of the finances can no doubt with some shew of reason be put forward as a cause but is it sufficient to justify such a policy * * If a deficit has been caused by the blunders of a Minister, a tax and a heavy tax too on the nation ought to be sufficient for the correction of that mistake but to make a deficit of a year a ground for a permanent curtailment of an item of expenditure for public good is unsound in principle and can receive sanction from no quarter."

Babu Pulinavehari Sena in moving the second resolution expressed himself in the following words.

"In rising to move the 2nd resolution I beg to observe that althougl. it is desirable to encourage Vernacular education, it should never be at the expense of that more important education which is imparted through the medium of the English language.

It does not require much argument to convince one that to withdraw Government aid from High English Education will be to put down India into the depths of ignorance and superstition with their thousand attendant evils from which it has only begun to emerge. * * * * The Vernacular language is in a crude state totally unfit yet for that pliancy, copiousness and energy without which a language can never sufficiently be made the channel for imparting knowledge of the liberal arts, literature, philosophy and science and without which it is but idle to hope for the regeneration of a nation or its capacity of appreciating the blessings of a liberal Government. If there is one thing more necessary for the bettering of India than another, it is Science. India has been from her infancy eminently imaginative and hence superstitious. Science alone can dissipate her fumes of 14 idealisms and her dependence upon the supernatural. This Science the Vernacular language is inadequate to give expression to. * * * *

2nd That this meeting fully recognizes the importance of educating all classes of the community and would hail measures for indigenous education that would not involve the restriction or repression of the Higher or English education.

Babu Syama Charana Bhatta seconded the resolution and said "when I say that Vernacular education is a necessity with us I think I speak for the whole nation ; no one ought to say or can say anything against the Vernacular education, why it would be simply absurd to expect to see one with a liberal education but not properly educated in the Vernacular. But considering the present state of Society and the march of intellect Vernacular education alone does not constitute the whole of the education that is necessary.

Babu Dhanapati Singha Dughar Raya Bahadur then rose to move the third resolution and spoke as follows :—

"I deeply regret the misfortune which is likely to befall on Bengal should the resolution of our Government to withdraw Imperial aid from English education be carried into effect. In consequence of the disturbances of 1857 the Government had

incurred a debt of about 50 crores but even at that time it was never contemplated that educational expenses should be curtailed : We fail to see why then our worthy Government now think of giving up the cause of English education. It is again a mistake to suppose that Government alone bears the whole burden of expense. Even more than half the expense is borne by us. We also are always inclined to contribute our share of expenses for special occasions. Such being the state of things the unenlightened portion of the community may think that Government is envying the spread of education here and we would be very sorry if such a nation be entertained by any class of men regarding our good and liberal Government.

3rd. That it is erroneous to suppose that those who resort to English Schools and Colleges are educated solely at the expense of the State, inasmuch as the fees and subscriptions raised from private source amount to more than half of the total amount of Imperial Expenditure on the higher education in Bengal.

Babu Akshaya Charana Sarakara in rising to second the third resolution made some remarks and concluded thus. " The impression therefore that we are taught out of the public exchequer is erroneous and not borne out by facts and the policy that it generates is equally prejudicial to the governed, the governor &c. &c."

Babu Matilala Banerji in moving the 4th resolution said that "if Government calculates on native resources alone for English education it ought in the first place to see whether there is a sufficient number of rich men in the country who can undertake to discharge this onerous duty of educating the future generations. The wealth of Bengal like the old man's story lies in the soil. This act of Government would tend to undo the good that they have done. The time is yet far distant when Government could safely entrust the course of English education to the hands of the natives of this country.

4th. That the foregoing resolutions be laid before the Committee of the British Indian Association for submission to the public meeting to be held in Calcutta on the 2nd July next for

the consideration of this subject and that Babu Dinanath Ganguly be requested to see this resolution carried into effect.

Babu Sasibhushna Mookerji seconded this resolution and said that it is not at all likely that a deaf ear should be turned to our wailings in England, &c.

(Sd.) RAJA NARENDRA NARAYANA BAHADUR.
Chairman.

JUNGIPORE.

XXX

AT a meeting of the inhabitants of Jungipore, in the District of Moorshedabad, held at the premises of the late Baboo Ramlal Singh on the 26th June 1870, Baboo Jodoo Nath Mookerjea in the chair, the following Resolutions were passed.

1. That the Resolution of the Government of India regarding "all English Education" as "high education," and withholding the State Grant for purposes of high education is to be strongly deprecated.

2. That in the opinion of this meeting the financial embarrassments of the State would not in the least be removed by withdrawing the State Grant; * * *

3. That a copy of the above Resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary to the British Indian Association for the information of the Meeting to be convened on the 2nd proximo, for discussing the Educational policy of the Government of India.

4. That this meeting express their unanimous approval of the course, which will be adopted by the British Indian Association.

5. That Babu Goursoonder Chowdry, a Zemindar of this Sub-District, be appointed to represent the views of its inhabitants on the subject.

6. That Babu Kristo Bullub Rai and Kaliprosad Goopto be appointed Joint Secretaries to report the proceedings of this

meeting and carry on the necessary correspondence with the British Indian Association.

(Sd.) JADUNATHA MOOKERJEA,
Chairman.

KRISHNA VALLAVA RAYA,
KALI PRASADA GUPTA, } *Secretaries.*

MALDAH.

XXXI

AT a Meeting held pursuant to the requisition of the Secretary of the British Indian Association at Maldah in the house of Dr. Dwarkanatha Chatterji on Sunday the 26th June 1870

PRESENT

Pandita Govindakanta Vidyabhushana,
Babu Satukanta Mukerji, } *Deputy Magistrates.*
„ Rojaninatha Chatterji,—*Head Master.*
„ Iswarachandra Khastavis,—*Dy. Inspector of Schools.*
„ Bhuvanamohana Chatterji,—*Inspector of Post Offices.*
Gosvami Hans Giri,
Babu Paresanatha Choudhuri, } *Zemindars.*
„ Lalavehari Lahudi,
„ Janaki Natha Newgi,
„ Indranarayana Raya,
„ Trailokya Natha Mukerji, } *Pleaders.*
„ Isana Chundra Sena,—*Income-Tax Assessor.*
„ Peari Mohana Sena,
„ Ram Jadub Bose,
„ Kali Sundara Ghataka,
„ Uma Charana Mukerji,
Pandita Rajivalochana Tarkabagisa,
Babus Radha Kisore Chakravarti
„ Srinatha Mojoomdar,

Babus Mahima Chundra Ghose,

„ Dwarkanatha Chatterji,—*Civil Medical Officer.*

and about 100 other residents of the district.

Pundita Govindakanta Vidyabhushana was voted to the chair.

Read Babu Jotcendro Mohun Tagore's circular letter of the 13th June 1870 and the object of the meeting explained.

Babu Rajaninatha Chatterji, Sita Kanta Mukerji, Dwarka Natha Chatterji, Guruprasada Sena, Kalisunder Ghataka, Gosiami Mohendra Gira and Peari Mohana Sena, dwelt at some length on the disadvantages India would suffer under if the State assistance to education be withdrawn, on the calamity that would fall on India if English education be discouraged, on the necessity for immediate action and appeal to the Home Government, the British Parliament or even to the foot of the Throne if need be &c. &c.

Read a letter from Babu Brajasundra Moittra regretting his inability to attend the meeting and expressing his feelings on the subject by the following quotations.

প্রজানামেব ভূত্যর্থং সতাভ্যো বলিমগ্রহীৎ।
সহস্রগুণমুৎস্রষ্টু মাদত্তে হিরসান্নবিঃ॥
প্রজানাং বিনয়াধানাদ্রক্ষণাদ্ভরনাদপি।
সপিতা পিতরস্তাসাং কেবলং জন্মহেতবঃ॥

শ্রীগোবিন্দকান্ত বিদ্যাভূষণ।

Chairman.

The following resolutions were passed :

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That in the opinion of this Committee the present Educational policy of the Government is a retrograde movement and that the withdrawal of State aid from colleges and schools will retard the progress of Education in India.

2. That this meeting highly approve of the intention of Government to educate the masses, but they are of opinion that to afford such education at the expense of high English education

is unsound in principle and will retard the intellectual progress of the people.

3. That this meeting approve of the proposition of the British Indian Association to memorialize the Secretary of State against the present educational policy of the Government of India.

4. That a copy of these proceedings be forwarded to Babu Joteendro Mohun Tagore with a request that he will lay before the Calcutta Meeting the expression of the opinions and feelings of the inhabitants of this district on this important subject.

DACCA DIVISION.

DACCA.

XXXII

MEETING held 2nd July 1870, Babu Opendranath Mittra in the Chair:

1ST RESOLUTION.

THAT this meeting, consisting of representatives from all sections of the community here, views with alarm the intention of the Supreme Government, as expressed in its Resolutions of the 8th September and 31st March last: gradually to withdraw all State support from the present system of English education.

2ND RESOLUTION.

That, in the opinon of this meeting, the English Education imparted in the Government Colleges and Schools, has been productive of the most beneficial results; by giving a powerful impetus to moral and intellectual advancement; by placing the people in a position to develope the material resources of the country, and improve and reform their manners, customs and social institutions; and by diffusing, through the medium of the educated classes, a spirit of loyalty and respect for the laws throughout the entire population.

3RD RESOLUTION.

That the confidence created in the minds of the people by the repeated declarations of the British Government, that it was its desire to "confer upon the Natives of India, those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge," will be seriously weakened, if the Queen's Government now recedes from the enlightened and benevolent policy, initiated and consistently pursued by the East India Company.

4TH RESOLUTION.

That the Colleges and Schools for instruction in English are resorted to almost entirely by the children of the middle and poorer classes of the community, most of whom are not able to meet the expenses of an English Education, even under the present system, without great difficulty. Any attempt, therefore, on the part of Government, to render such education self-supporting, by the introduction of any sudden or radical change, would be premature; and would have the effect of closing the door against the vast majority of that class of students which now attends those institutions.

5TH RESOLUTION.

That, while considering it to be desirable that a more extended system of Vernacular Education should be introduced, concurrently with the present system of English Education, in accordance with the plan set forth in the great Education Despatch of 1854, this meeting desires to bring to prominent notice the fact, that the classes who have had the advantage of an English Education, have helped to diffuse among the masses, the benefits they have themselves received, by creating an enlightened indigenous vernacular literature, promoting the establishment of chief grants-in-aid schools all over the country; and by exercising a beneficial influence over all sections of the population.

6TH RESOLUTION.

That, any measure having for its object, the more general diffusion of the blessings of education, by diverting the funds

now employed in imparting education in English toward some system of popular elementary Vernacular education will defeat its own object.

7TH RESOLUTION.

That a Committee consisting of Baboos Upendra Nauth Mittra, Somenauth Mukhopadya, Chaitanya Krishna Basack, Syama Kanta Chutterjea, and Dino Nauth Sen, be appointed on the part of this meeting, to draw up a memorial to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, embodying the views of this meeting; and to submit it to His Grace along with the petition from the British Indian Association.

8TH RESOLUTION.

That a Telegram be sent just now to the meeting that is going to take place this evening at the Town Hall, Calcutta, informing them of the proceedings of this meeting.

BIKRUMPUR.

XXXIII

কাচাদিয়া।

বিক্রমপুর শুভকরী সভাগৃহ।

১০ই আষাঢ় ১২৭৭ সাল। ২৩এ জুন ১৮৭০ ইং। বৃহস্পতিবার।
শিক্ষাসংক্রান্ত রাজনীতি প্রতিবাদার্থ সভা।

বেলা অপরাহ্ন ২ ঘটিকার সময়ে বিক্রমপুরের ভিন্ন ভিন্ন গ্রাম নিবাসী বহু সংখ্যক সম্ভ্রান্ত ব্যক্তি সমাগত হইলেন।

শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু দ্বারকানাথ গুপ্ত মহাশয়ের প্রস্তাবানুসারে ও শ্রীযুক্ত পণ্ডিত তারকচন্দ্র চূড়ামণি মহাশয়ের পোষকতায় শ্রীযুক্ত পণ্ডিত জগচ্চন্দ্র তর্কালঙ্কার মহাশয়কে অদ্যকার সভার সভাপতিপদে ও শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু লালমোহন বটব্যাল মহাশয়ের প্রস্তাবানুসারে ও শ্রীযুক্ত ফটিকচন্দ্র দাস মহাশয়ের পোষকতায় শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু আদ্যাপ্রসাদ সেন মহাশয়কে সম্পাদক পদে বরণ করা হইল।

শ্রীযুক্ত সভাপতি মহাশয় সমাগত সম্ভ্রান্ত ব্যক্তিদিগকে সম্বোধন করিয়া বলিলেন "অদ্য এই সভা হওয়ার উদ্দেশ্য বিষয়ে অত্রত্য শুভকরী সভা গত ৭ই আষাঢ় যে রূপ বিজ্ঞাপন করিয়াছেন, তদ্বিশেষ এই, 'ভারতবর্ষীয় গবর্ণর উচ্চতর শিক্ষা রহিত করিতে মানস করিয়াছেন। তাহার প্রতিবাদ করণার্থে আগামী ২রা জুলাই কলিকাতার টাউনহলে এক বৃহৎসভা হইবে। উক্ত সভায় এই বিক্রমপুর নিবাসীদিগের প্রতিনিধি উপস্থিত থাকা আবশ্যক কি না; এবং আবশ্যক হইলে তৎপদে কাহাকে নিযুক্ত করা যাইবে, তদবধারণার্থে আগামী ২রা আষাঢ় বৃহস্পতিবার বেলা ১০ ঘটিকার পর অত্র সভাগৃহে বিক্রমপুর নিবাসীদিগের একটী সভা হইবে। প্রার্থনা যে বিক্রমপুর নিবাসী দেশহিতৈষিগণ উক্ত সভায় উপস্থিত হইয়া কর্ত্তব্য নির্দ্ধারণ করিবেন। অদ্য এই সভা কেন আহূত হইয়াছে, এবং এখানে অদ্য কি কি কথার মীমাংসা করিয়া কি কি কার্য্য করিতে হইবে, এই বিজ্ঞাপনেই তাহা প্রকাশ করিতেছে। এখন সমাগত সম্ভ্রান্ত মহাশয়গণ এতদ্বিষয়ের মীমাংসা এবং কর্ত্তব্য স্থির করুন।,,

তদনন্তর আলোচনান্তে সভা ধার্য্য করিলেন যে, ভারতবর্ষীয় গবর্ণমেণ্ট যে উচ্চতর শিক্ষা রহিত করিতে মানস করিয়াছেন তাহা এতদ্দেশী ব্যক্তি মাত্রেরই অনুমোদিত নহে, এবং একথা শ্রবণ মাত্রে এতদ্দেশীয় তাবতে সাতিশয় দুঃখিত ও পরিতাপিত হইয়াছেন, তাহা গবর্ণমেণ্টকে জানান. এবং উক্ত রাজনীতির প্রতিবাদ করা কর্ত্তব্য হইয়াছে। সেমতে কলিকাতার টাউনহলে এ সম্বন্ধে আগামী ২রা জুলাই যে এক বৃহৎসভা হইবে সেই সভায় বিক্রমপুর নিবাসীদিগের পক্ষে দুই জন প্রতিনিধি উপস্থিত থাকা আবশ্যক। এবং সেন প্রতিনিধি কার্য্যভার বিক্রমপুরের সৌরভ স্বরূপ স্বদেশহিতৈষী বিদ্যোৎসাহী শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু মনোমোহন ঘোষ বারিষ্টার মহাশয় ও শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু চন্দ্রমাধব ঘোষ উকিল মহাশয়ের প্রতি অর্পণ করা যায়।

শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু গোলোকচন্দ্র গুহের প্রস্তাবমতে ও শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু ফটিকচন্দ্র দাসের পোষকতায় ধার্য্য হইল যে, এতদ্বিষয়ক এখানে অনুষ্ঠানীয় অন্যান্য সর্ব্বপ্রকার কার্য্য নির্ব্বাহ জন্য শুভকরী সভার প্রতি ভারার্পণ করা যায়।

শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু ধনঞ্জয় রায় মহাশয়ের প্রস্তাবানুসারে ও শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু চন্দ্রমোহন মুখোপাধ্যায় মহাশয়ের পোষকতায় সর্ব্বসম্মতি মতে ধার্য্য হইল যে, এই সভার এই সকল কার্য্য বিবরণের এক এক খণ্ড প্রতিলিপি বর্ণিত শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু মনোমোহন ঘোষ বারিষ্টার মহাশয় ও শ্রীযুক্ত বাবু চন্দ্রমাধব ঘোষ উকিল মহাশয়ের নিকট পাঠান যায়; আমাদের প্রার্থনা যে তাঁহারা এতৎসম্বন্ধে কলিকাতার টাউনহলে ২রা জুলাই যে এক বৃহৎ সভা হইবে, সেই সভায় এবং কলিকাতার অন্যান্য স্থানে এতৎ সম্বন্ধে যখন যে আলোচনা হয়, তথায় অনুগ্রহ পূর্ব্বক আমাদিগের প্রতিনিধি স্বরূপ উপস্থিত হইয়া যথা বিহিত করতঃ আমাদিগকে আহ্লাদিত ও বাধিত করিবেন।

তদনন্তর সমবেত সম্ভ্রান্ত ব্যক্তিগণের মধ্যে ৫। ৬ জনে এক একটী মৌখিক বক্তৃতা করিলেন। সেই সকল বক্তৃতার তাৎপর্য্য এই "আমরা রাজ্য হারাইয়া যত না দুঃখিত হইয়াছি; আমরা সর্ব্বস্ব হারাইলেও যত না দুঃখিত হইব; যদি আমরা এই উচ্চ শিক্ষা হারাই তাহা আমাদের পক্ষে বিশেষ ক্ষতিকর হইবে," এ রূপ ভাববক্তা ও শ্রোতাগণ মধ্যে অতি প্রবলবেগে প্রবাহিত হইল। তাহার পর শ্রীযুক্ত পণ্ডিত তারকচন্দ্র চূড়ামণি মহাশয় আর একটী মৌখিক বক্তৃতা করিলেন।

সর্ব্বশেষে এতৎ কার্য্যানুষ্ঠানকারী শুভকরী সভাকে ধন্যবাদ প্রদান পূর্ব্বক সভাভঙ্গ হইল ইতি।

(অবিকল প্রতিলিপি)
শ্রীআদ্যাপ্রসাদ সেন
বিক্রমপুর শুভকরী সভার সম্পাদিকা।

FURREEDPORE.

XXXIV

SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 13th June 1870 and in reply to state that in accordance with the wishes of the Committee of the British Indian Association a public meeting of the residents of Furreedpore

was held on Sunday the 20th idem. It was largely attended by representative of the middle class of this district.

I am desired by the meeting to say that as no person can be sent from this place to Calcutta you will be so good as to lay the following resolutions passed by it before the public meeting to be held at the Town Hall on the 2nd July next.

At a Meeting of the inhabitants of Furreedpore held on the 20th June, 1870 on the education question the following Resolutions were passed :

1st. That this Meeting deeply deplores the announcement made by the Indian Government of its intention to stop all State grants for English Education. Such a measure cannot but be highly detrimental to the intellectual improvement of the whole people.

2nd. That this meeting unanimously feels the urgent necessity and desirability of memorializing the Secretary of State for India in Council on the subject of the illiberal educational policy of the Indian Government.

3rd. That this meeting distinctly and fully declares the inability of the middle classes, at least of this district, to provide for the English Education of their children unless assisted, as hitherto, by the Government of the country.

4th. That this meeting, therefore, expresses a hearty sympathy and agreement with the views of the grand Public Meeting convened by the British Indian Association, and will co-operate with it as far as practicable, in any steps therein resolved upon.

5th. That this meeting appreciates the importance of educating the mass of the people namely artizans, husbandmen &c., but deems it both unnecessary and impolitic to sacrifice the interests of the middle classes for those of the lower orders.

6th. That this meeting sincerely expresses the gratitude of this District for the patriotic spirit displayed by the British Indian Association.

I have &c.,

(Sd.) Kalydasa Mukerji,

SERAJGUNGE.

XXXV

With a view to place before the British Indian Association the sense of the native inhabitants of Serajgunge the present educational policy of the Government of India notified in the supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th May 1870, a meeting of the native community of Serajgung was convened on the evening of the 27th June 1870 and the following resolutions were passed.

I. That inasmuch as the present educational policy of the Government of India of withdrawing the State allowances from all Colleges and Schools and of increasing the rates of fees therein chargeable, is calculated to retard the progress of education by shutting those Colleges and Schools from the middle class inhabitants, who are the real senders of children to such Colleges and Schools, this meeting is of opinion that the said policy will be productive of serious consequence to the welfare of the inhabitants at large, and as such should be humbly and respectfully protested against in a memorial to Her Majesty's Secretary of State in Council for India and that this meeting act in concert with the British Indian Association, who are about to take measure to this effect.

II. That the meeting appoint Babu Bhogobutty Churn Mookerjea to act as their representative in the British Indian Association at their proposed meeting on the 2nd July 1870 and should Babu Bhogobutty Churn Mookerjee be unable to reach Calcutta before the day fixed, the British Indian Association be requested to act as the representative of this meeting.

III. That while fully alive to the grave importance of educating the masses, this meeting cannot help thinking it injudicious to afford such education, however important to the ruin of English education which in fact is the keystone of all improvement of the country.

IV. That the meeting appoint the following gentlemen to compose a committee to correspond with the British Indian Asso-

ciation in their behalf Babus Kaliprosunno Mookerjea, Sreenath Gupto, Dwarkanath Poramanick, and Babu Kylash Chunder Paul.

V. That a copy of these Resolutions be forwarded to the British Indian Association for their information.

KALY PROSSUNNO MOOKERJEA,
and 127 others.

BACKERGUNGE.

BURRISAUL.

XXXVI

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARY
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

&c., &c., &c.,

THE Committee regret that they cannot send a representative to be present in the meeting of the 2nd proximo (as Burrisal is more than 5 days journey from Calcutta) but they take this opportunity of informing the meeting of the 2nd July next through you of their sincere determination to co-operate with whatever is proposed to be done in the meeting of that day.

I am further directed to request that you will keep the Committee informed of the proceedings of the meeting of 2nd July next and of all the other meetings that may from time to time be held for the purpose of carrying into effect to resolutions of that Meeting.

As the proceedings were in the vernacular the resolutions are forwarded exactly in the same shape as they were put and carried.

I have &c.,

DURGA MOHAN DASA,
Secretary.

A MEETING was held on the 27th June at which the following Resolutions were passed.

Proposed by Baboo Durga Mohun Dass seconded by Babo[o] Nobin Chunder Roy and carried unanimously.

I. That in the opinion of this meeting the resolution of the Government of India published in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India* dated the 7th May last wherein it is proposed to withdraw gradually all state aid from English schools and colleges is fraught with danger and ominous of evil to the inhabitants of Bengal.

Proposed by Baboo Peary Lall Roy B. A. B. L. and seconded by the Government Pleader Baboo Abhoya Nundo Dass, and carried unanimously.

II. That in the opinion of this meeting it is impossible that the English schools of the District should remain in their present efficient state, if the aid of the Government were gradually withdrawn from them inasmuch as the time has not arrived when the people of Bengal can afford to bear *all the expenses* of an English education themselves.

Proposed by Baboo Chundee Churn Roy and seconded by Baboo Chunder Nauth Sen, Mohalanavish, and carried unanimously.

III. That in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient to memorialize the Secretary of State against the recent changes in the educational policy of the Government of India and for that purpose to co-operate with the British Indian Association in all that is done with the object of carrying this resolution into effect.

Proposed by Baboo Deno Bundoo Sen B. A. and B. L., and seconded by Baboo Brindabun Chunder Chuckerbutty and carried unanimously.

IV. That with the object of putting themselves in communication with the B. I. Association and for the purpose of concerting measures in consultation with that Association for carrying that resolution into effect a Committee of the following gentlemen be appointed with power to add to

their number: Baboos Peary Lall Roy, Nobin Chunder Roy, Kalla Chand Chatterjea, Sharoop Chunder Ghose, Sarada Prosad Roy, Durga Mohun Doss Secretary, Oomesh Chunder Ghose Assistant Secretary.

V. Proposed by Babu Ooma Kant Chatterjea M. A., B. L. and seconded by Baboo Oomesh Chunder Ghose B. A., B. L. and carried unanimously. That as it is too late to send a representative from this meeting to be present in the meeting of the 2nd July next, a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary to the B. I. Association with a letter requesting him to keep this committee informed of all their proceedings in this matter and assuring him of this meeting's hearty co-operation and sympathy with the objects of the meeting of the 2nd July next.

MYMENSING.

XXXVII

At a Meeting held at Babu Jadava Chandra Gosvami's residence on the 22nd June last attended by about 100 men respresentative Zemindars, Talookdars, Government servants and professional men, Babu Gopi Krishna Banerji was proposed to the chair.

The President opened the proceedings of the meeting by introducing to the gentlemen a letter received from the Secretary of the B. I. Association regarding the proposed withdrawal of by Government of state assistance to English education in this country.

The President spoke about the desirability of co-operating with the Association in the purposes of the meeting to be held by them, after which Babu Tarini Prasad Roy moved the first resolution.

I. That this meeting has learned with extreme regret the proposal of Government to withdraw to a certain extent state-assistance to English education in this country and the members here present one and all think it but just and proper to give their humble support to the British Indian Association

to its purpose of considering the propriety of memorializing His Grace the Secretary of State for India on the subject of the proposed withdrawal of state assistance to English education in this country.

It was seconded by Babu Jadava Chundra Gosvami B. A. and supported by Babu Krishna Sundara Ghose.

The resolution was then put to vote and was passed unanimously.

Babu Bhagavana Chundra Sena then moved the 2nd resolution.

II. That the members of this meeting thinking it inconvenient and almost impossible for them to attend in due time the meeting to be held by the B. I. Association take this opportunity to express to the said Association the sentiment of this district regarding the proposals of the Government.

The resolution on being seconded by S. C. Nauth Esq., and supported by Babu Kalinatha Dhara B. L. was put to vote and passed unanimously.

III. That a select committee consisting of Babus Girija Kanta Lahuri, Jadava Chundra Gosvami, B. A., Madana Mohana Ghose, Kishna Sundara Ghose and S. C. Nauth Esq., be appointed to draw up a letter to the address of Babu Jotcendro Mohun Tagore disclosing the sentiments of the inhabitants of this district regarding the proposal of the Government and that the same when circulated amongst the public together with true proceedings of this meeting be sent to the Secretary of the B. I. Association. It was proposed by Babu Tarini Prasada Roya and was seconded by Babu Isana Chundra Chakravarti B. L., and passed unanimously.

Babu Girija Kanto then read the 4th resolution.

That copies of the proceedings of the meeting together with the letters to be sent to the Secretary of the British Indian Association be forwarded to the influential and educated men in the interior, who have not been able to be present at this meeting requesting them to give their opinion on the points

raised in the meeting and that all answers when received be submitted to the B. I. Association.

It was seconded by Babu Harisa Chundra Bagsee and by Babu Rutan Mani Gupto.

The resolution was approved and passed unanimously.

(Sd.) JADAVA CHUNDRA GOSVAMI,
and about 35 others.

CHITTAGONG DIVISION.

NOAKHALLY.

XXXVIII

PROCEEDINGS of a meeting held at the Bengali school house at Noakhali on the evening of the 24th June for the purpose of eliciting the state of native opinion at this station regarding the proposed withdrawal of state assistance to English education and co-operating with the British Indian Association for memorialising his Grace the Secretary of State for India on the subject.

The meeting was attended by most of the respectable natives of the place. Babu Jagadisa Nath Raya being called to the chair opened the proceedings by explaining to the gentlemen present the object of the meeting and briefly recited the history of the progress of education in this country.

Moved by Baboo Huripersaud Newgee and seconded by Babu Lackhicant Roy.

I. That in the opinion of this meeting the proposed withdrawal of state assistance from English education in this country is premature and will lead to the closing of most of the schools and colleges in Bengal.

In moving the above resolution the Babu adverted to the fact that the great majority of our English students especially in the Moffussil stations come from the middle classes whose incomes are barely sufficient to maintain themselves. From some statis-

ties of the Noakhali English School which he detailed it appeared that the average income of the guardians of the boys attending this school was about 30 Rs. and the cost of educating each pupil about 4 of this amount the pupils pay only 4 at present and he detailed on the hardships into which a sudden withdrawal of state aid would involve the residents here.

Babu Lakshmikanta Raya in seconding the above resolution stated that this District is not yet sufficiently advanced in education and enlightenment to enable its people to help themselves in the matter of high or English edu-cation.

Moved by Babu Odoychand Dutt and seconded by Babu Adwatyachurn Dutt.

II. That while recognizing the importance and necessity of education for the people generally in the Vernacular, this meeting is of opinion that the progress of popular education should by no means supersede English Education for the higher and middle classes.

The Babu dwelt specially on the services that the educated natives have done to the country by establishing Schools and Patshalas and zealously and intelligently superintending the education therein imparted. He demonstrated that unless the upper and middle classes were simultaneously educated and enlightened popular education would not succeed with Government aid alone. He also dwelt upon the duty of England towards India in raising her in the scale of nations by imparting to her the learning and civilization of the west.

Babu Atulya Chandra Chatterji moved the 3rd resolution which was seconded by Babu Rajarama Mukerji.

III. That in the opinion of this meeting the state grant for educational purposes is neither exorbitant nor unprecedented, and that further aid in addition to what is now granted may fairly be given out of imperial funds for promoting popular education.

The speeches were all in Vernacular, as many present did not understand English.

CHOTA NAGPORE DIVISION.

MANBHUM, PURULIA.

XXXIX.

PROCEEDINGS of a meeting of the native inhabitants of the Town of Purulia in the district of Manbhum held on Thursday last, 23rd June, 1870, for the purpose of considering the great Educational question.

PRESENT.

Babu Kalicharana Datta,
„ Vimalananda Mukerji,
„ Navinachandra Pala,
„ Hansesvara Mukerji,
„ Uttamakishna Sarakara,
„ Rama Nrisinghaditya,,
„ Niyamat Ulla,
„ Kailasachandra Chatterji,
„ Umacharana Raya,
„ Paresanatha Ghosha,
„ Kshetramohana Ghataka,
„ Bankavehari Sarakara,
„ Syamalala Datta,
„ Gopikrishna Mukerji,
„ Dinavandhu Bhattacharya,
„ Rupachanda Mukerji,

And others.

Proposed by Babu Kalicharana Datta and seconded by all the members that Babu Navinachandra Pala be president.

Proposed by Babu Hansesvara Mukerji and seconded by Babu Kalicharana Datta that Babu Bankavehari Sarakara be the Secretary.

Read a letter from Babu Joteendro Mohun Tagore, Honorary Secretary, British Indian Association, inviting the inhabitants of the District of Manbhum to convene a meeting and send their opinion on the great Education question.

Babu Kalicharana Datta said that English Education has done great good to the country. He said that the Chota-Nagpore Province is the most backward in this respect, the people are generally poor and could hardly pay for their education The education of the masses is indeed desirable, but to raise the intellectual and moral character of the people he considers that vernacular and English education must go hand in hand. He moreover said that education is just in its infant state and without the fostering care of the British Government, it cannot thrive. If therefore he observed state aid be withdrawn from English Education, it would be a suicidal policy, &c.

Babu Hansesvara Mukerji after dwelling for sometime on the benefits of English education said that a memorial should be submitted to his Grace the Secretary of State to continue state aid to English education.

Babu Gopikrishna Mukerji said th at English Education should not in his opinion be stopped so soon, it has yet much to do in way of civilizing the country. The circumstances of the people are not such as to bear the heavy expenses of liberal Education and that he admits the urgent necessity of representing to his Grace.

Babu Dinavandhu Bhattacharya said that in his opinion the country owes its present grandeur solely to English education, and that this education could never have been given if Government did not take the burden of expense. He said that the people are generally poor and that their position is not so advanced as to be able to bear all the charges of an expensive education and that the withdrawal of state aid would be putting a stop to the educational career of the people which in his opinion has been but half pursued.

A discussion ensued in which several gentlemen took part.

The members then came to the following resolutions.

The following Resolutions were passed at a Meeting of the ... Inhabitants of Purulia held on the 23rd June.

That they one and all unanimously protest against the anti-

English Education policy of the Government, inasmuch, as it is highly injurious to the educational interests of the country.

That they deem it expedient to memorialize His Grace the Secretary of State against the present educational policy of the Government, and they heartily agree to co-operate with the British Indian Association in the adoption of measures which might be best calculated to secure State aid to English Education.

That Hon'ble Babu Issur Chunder Ghosal, Member of the Bengal Legislative Council and Talookdar, be requested to act as representative for the District of Manbhum in the great education Meeting to be held in Calcutta on the 2nd of July next.

(Sd.) BANKAVEHARI SARAKARA

Secretary to the Educational Meeting, Purulia

. and about 100 *gentlemen.*

ASSAM DIVISION.

GOWHATTY.

XL

RESOLUTION I.

THAT in the opinion of this meeting the present educational policy of the Government of India as announced in the Supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th ultimo is fraught with danger to the best interests of the country and calculated to retard the progress of education in Bengal inasmuch as the inevitable result of such policy will be by the withdrawal of state aid from the national seats of learning and increasing the cost of English education to place that education beyond the masses of most of those who had sent their children to English Schools and Colleges.

RESOLUTION II.

That while feeling the urgent importance of measures calculated to educate and intellectually elevate the mass of the

population of this country this meeting is of opinion that to afford such education to the neglect of English education is unsound in principle and subversive of that harmony which should exist between the middle and lower orders of our Society.

RESOLUTION III.

That the members of this meeting have learnt with the greatest pleasure that a grand meeting moved by the B. I. Association will be held at Calcutta to petition Her Gracious Majesty the Queen protesting against this impolitic resolution of Government. This meeting, therefore, unanimously resolve that these resolutions, at which they have arrived be sent to the Secretary to the British Indian Association to be laid before the said convocation as an index of their opinion and feeling on this important matter.

HEMCHANDRA BARWAH,
and several others.

GOALPARA.

XLI

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARY

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION,

Calcutta.

SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 13th instant I have the honor to inform you that a Meeting was held on the afternoon of Sunday the 19th instant at 4 P. M., in the premises of the Goalpara Hitovidhaini Sabha for devising the best means for representing the Government about the subject of withdrawing all aid to high-class education in Bengal and a resolution has been passed by the select members for sending a memorial to the Secretary of State for India.

The Meeting was composed of the following gentlemen Rai Goonabhi Ram Burooah Bahadoor, Babu Pudolochan Dass, Babu Joygopaul Rukhit, Babu Okhoy Coomar Bose, Babu Suda Ram Doss, Babu Judo Nauth Banerjee.

The Members have not as yet been able to come to the conclusion whether they will send their Memorial through the British Indian Association or otherwise. The result will be made known afterwards.

I have the Honor to be,
Sir,
Your's most Obt. Servant,
Okhoy Coomar Bose.

SECOND MEETING.

To

Babu Joteendra Mohun Tagore,
Honorary Secretary.
British Indian Association.

মহাশয় !

ব্রিটিশ ইণ্ডিয়ান এসসিয়েসন কমিটীকর্ত্তৃক আপনি আগত ২রা জুলাই সভায় আমাকে উপস্থিত হওয়ার জন্য যে পত্র লিখিয়াছেন তাহা প্রাপ্ত হওয়া গিয়াছে। সময়ের স্বল্পতা গতিকে সভায় উপস্থিত হইতে অক্ষম হইলাম, আপনার সদ্‌গুণে সে দোষ ক্ষমা করিবেন। অগ্রিম পত্রে স্বাক্ষরকারী ভদ্র বিশিষ্ট ব্যক্তিগণের এবং আমার নিম্ন লিখিত অভিপ্রায়টী সভাতে উপস্থিত করিলে অত্যন্ত বাধ্য হইব। ইংরাজী বিদ্যাসাধন জন্য যে ষ্টেট সাহায্য পাওয়া হইত তাহা এইক্ষণ রহিত হওয়ার যে প্রস্তাব হইয়াছে লিখিয়াছেন এ অত্যন্ত ক্ষোভের বিষয় আমাদের এ দেশস্থ লোকদের এ পর্য্যন্ত বিদ্যা উত্তমরূপে উপলব্ধি হইতে পারে নাই। যদিও অতি অল্প সংখ্যক লোক কৃত বিদ্য হইয়াছে তথাচ যে কত সংখ্যক লোক অবিদ্য আছে তাহার ইয়ত্তা নাই। বিদ্যা ব্যতীত কোন কর্ম্ম, কি কৃষি, কি বাণিজ্য কিছুরই সুচারু রূপে উন্নতি সাধন হইতে পারা দুরূহ। বিবেচনা করিলে এই বিদ্যা বিষয়টী এতদ্দেশে এই ক্ষণতক শৈশব অবস্থায় আছে; এমত অবস্থায় এই বিদ্যা শিক্ষার জন্য যদি মহামান্য গবর্ণমেন্ট সাহায্য রহিত হয়, তবে মাতৃস্তন্যাভাবে শিশুর ন্যায় শীঘ্রই বিনাশ প্রাপ্ত হইতে হইবেক। আমাদের এ সকল দেশের প্রায়শ জনগণ এখনও এ প্রকার ঘোর তিমিরে আচ্ছন্ন আছে যে গবর্ণমেন্ট সাহায্য ব্যতীত কোন ক্রমেই তাহা

হইতে উদ্ধার পাইতে পারে না। এতদ্দেশীয় লোকদের স্বীয় ব্যয়ে যে তাহা নিষ্পন্ন হয় তাহাও বড় ভার। গবর্ণমেণ্ট যদি এই অবস্থায় বদান্যতা প্রকাশ না করিয়া বিরত থাকেন, নিশ্চয় দেশীয় যুবকদের একটী মহা অমঙ্গলকর হইবে। ইতি সন ১২৭৭ সাল তারিখ ১৪ আষাঢ়

স্বাক্ষর বেয়াল্লিসটে

PRETHU RAM CHOWDRY,

and 100 others.

BEHAR.

BHAUGULPORE.

XLII

PROCEEDINGS of a meeting of the residents of Bhaugulpore held this day (30th June) in the Old School House of the Station.

PRESENT.

Moulavi Wahi-ud-din Khan Bahadur.
Babu Vrajamohana Thakura.
„ Haragouriprasada.
Moulavi Hafiz Hosein.
Babu Sardhari Lall.
Shaiek Ali Hassein.
Meer Ashrat Ali.
Moulavi Mohommad Hazuk.
„ Wazul Huq.
„ Hasein Askari.
Shah Shumraffuth Hassein.
Babu Gopalchandra Sarakara.
„ Atulyacharana Mallika.

And others.

Moulavi Wahi-ud-din being voted to the Chair the following resolutions were unanimously passed. ..

1 That the proposed Education Policy of Government of India withdrawing State aid from English institutions of the

country is detrimental to the progress and intellectual advancement of the natives of India.

2. That in the present state of native society in general and that of Behar in particular English Education is the only means of elevating the people intellectually, socially, and morally, and towards this end the aid of the State is essentially necessary.

3. That a memorial praying for the continuance of the present Education policy of the Government of India be submitted to the Secretary of State for India and for that purpose action be taken in unison with the British Indian Association of Calcutta.

4. That a Committee be at once organized to place themselves in communication with the British Indian Association and to transmit to them a copy of the proceedings of this meeting.

That a Committee consisting of the undermentioned gentlemen be at once organised to place themselves in communication with the British Indian Association and to transmit to them a copy of the proceedings of this meeting : Moulavi Saied Wahi-ud-din, Navaratna Mallicka, Vraja Mohana Thakura.

(Sd.) WAHI-UD-DIN,
Chairman.

JAMALPUR AND MONGHYR.

XLIII

To

BABU JOTEENDRO MOHUN TAGORE
HONY. SECY. BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION,
Calcutta.

SIR,—With reference to the notice in the *Hindoo Patriot* of 27th June 1870, and previous issues regarding the meeting of the native inhabitants of Bengal to be held in the Town Hall on Saturday the 2nd instant the undersigned Bengali residents of Monghyr and Jamalpur beg leave to convey to you our deep sense of regret and in consequence of our inability to attend the meeting. Nevertheless we beg hereby to record for

the information of the meeting our humble assent to the propriety of memorializing His Grace the Secretary of State for India on the object of the proposed withdrawal of State assistance from English education in this country and authorize you to make use of this letter if necessary.

We have the honor to be
Sir
Your most Obdt. servant,
DOORLUB CHURN MOZOOMDAR,
and 170 others.

JAMALPUR,
1st *July*, 1870.

TIRHUT.

XLIV

PROCEEDINGS of a meeting of the Native Community of Mozaffarpur held on the 3rd August, 1870.

Syed Alli Kooli Khan.—*Chairman.*

Roy Nundi Pot Mahta Bahadoor,—*Vice-Chairman.*

The Chairman opened the meeting. He spoke a few words expressing his opinion on the proposed withdrawal from or curtailment of Government support of English Education and dwelt on the disastrous tendency of such measure.

The Chairman was followed by Babu Kadar Nath Banerjee, the leader of the Mozuffarpoor bar, who spoke in Urdu. The speech throughout was animated. He expounded to the audience the Resolution of Government of India of the 31st of March last, and stated that many seemed to labor under an erroneous impression that it was the intention of the Government to eradicate English Education from the land. The speaker said that this was a great mistake. The Government only proposed the increase of schooling fees and the withdrawal of scholarships and other grants.

The Babu observed that the greatest danger to be apprehended from the execution of the measure, was the threatened withdrawal of Government aid from High English education, the result of which would most unquestionably be the closing of the English Schools and Colleges. Such a result would be most disastrous to the future education of India's children.

There were some persons under an impression that it would not be a matter of much consequence if these colleges and schools were abolished, when the Government has resolved to impart and supply the best education through the medium of the Vernacular, and such education again as will entitle the people to all the honors and benefits which they now enjoy as the fruits of high English education. This he considered a melancholy error. Government does not intend any such thing, and no such thing is practicable. The education Government intends to give to the masses by means of the Vernacular would be purely elementary or primary. This education is for the benefit of the poorest classes of the natives of the country, for menial servants—shoemakers—carpenters and the entire rural population. It is certainly a matter of much rejoicing that Government desires the diffusion of the light of knowledge among the masses, but ought it to follow that high class education must be retarded, and our future prospects blasted, because the masses must be enlightened? And the Government for the support of this species of education is about to levy a cess, let this cess accumulated be applied to the purpose for which it is intended, and let the Government defray the expenses of High English education as it has hitherto liberally been doing.

The relationship in which the Natives stand to the Government is a dear one, it is as the relationship subsisting between a father and his children, and the Indian Government in all its phases is a paternal one, therefore as children if they were to appeal consistently with propriety against an order or command which they believed would tend to injure their future prospects, there was no fear of being visited with displeasure, though some mistakenly consider that a protest however respectful is tanta-

mount to flagrant disobedience. The Babu was of opinion that the time had come when they ought as suppliants to lay their grievances before the Government truthfully, and honestly and abide by its decision. Should it be favorable to their views, it would be to them a source of perennial happiness, if otherwise, they had only as becomes obedient and grateful children unmurmurringly to accept what is given to them.

Babu Gopalchunder Dass, Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate of this District, then rose and addressed the meeting in Urdu which he spoke with remarkable purity. One could scarcely say from his fluency and the style of his address whether he was a Bengali or a Hindoostani. He dwelt on the salient points of the Government Resolution, and practically illustrated the advantage of English education by noticing the ascendancy the Bengalis had over the Beharis in filling places of honor and responsibility owing to their familiarity with the English language, and their proficiency in it. He said that while scarcely a Behari was appointed to any respectable post in the Metropolis of Bengal, several Bengalis held most important situations in Behar, snatching them away as it were from under the very noses of the Beharis. The speaker concluded by remarking, that if the Government resolution were carried out to the letter by imparting merely elementary instruction to the masses, to the sacrifice of high-class English education, the higher classes would have nothing better in prospective than the satisfaction of beholding their sons a flock of *Jahils*.

At this stage of the proceedings a petition in Hindi was presented to the meeting by the members of the Dharma Sumaj. It describes the benefits of education, especially English education, whose blessings are felt all over the land, and ends with a prayer that it may not be sacrificed to the vernacular, that it may go hand in hand with the Sanscrit, because it would be materially useful to the Sanscrit student when passing his University Entrance Examination.

Baboo Bhooputy Roy, Subordinate Judge of the District, rose and made a short speech in Urdu. He spoke much to the same

effect as the preceding speakers, Baboos Kadarnath and Gopal Chunder.

The Rev. Mr. Greenfield next rose and said that if he were not an Englishman he would have wished to be one that night, and at that moment, for he felt a peculiar, and inexpressible pleasure to find that the language of his country, its arts and sciences were so highly spoken of, so worthily appreciated, so warmly commended, and their benefits so fully comprehended by an alien race; a race whose language, manners, customs and ways of living, and whose religion were quite dissimilar to those of his own nation.

The speaker then went into the Government resolution. He was of opinion that it was not fully understood, and by a variety of arguments endeavoured to show it was fraught with much good, and well might it accord with the spirit of the times. That the Government in encouraging the advancement of vernacular education among the masses, though at the expense of high class English education, had apparently at heart the universal benefit or India. That the withdrawal or curtailment of state-aid, and a further enhancement of Schooling fees in Anglo-Vernacular institutions under Government patronage were he thought the best means it could adopt for the furtherance of its object, the improvement of India. That the natives having to make high class English Education a business of their own, would be more eager than heretofore to give it greater encouragement, and that the respectable and wealthy among them would only be too glad to support their countrymen as the case is in England by bestowing endowments for the maintenance of those Educational institutions which now receive assistance from Government. The Revd. Gentleman was answered by Babu Shib Chunder Chatterjee B. A. B. L., and Baboo Poorno Chunder Mitter B. A. B. L., both Graduates of the Calcutta University. He seemed to forget that there were many Englishmen both in England and in this country, who had made education their study, and who considered it the duty of the State to promote liberal education.

Babu Poorno Chunder Mitter shewed how English Education was of a reproductive character from the publication of original works in Bengali, and translations of English works which are daily issuing from the native presses;—as also from the establishment of numerous Vernacular Schools under the grant-in-aid system by educated natives, who feel naturally desirous to communicate their knowledge to their less fortunate countrymen.

Mr. Lingham, a distinguished member of the Mozufferpore bar, very ably advocated the cause of English education and argued how necessary it was for the elevation of the native races.

The night having far advanced it was thought time to wind up, when Babu Kadar Nath Banerjee on behalf of his friends, and of the native community heartily thanked the assembly for having condescended to honor the meeting with their presence.

CHUPRAH.

XLV

THERE was a grand meeting of the inhabitants of this place held on the 10th instant in the Government School House for discussing the Education Question. The meeting commenced in the afternoon and broke up at about 4 o'clock P. M. The gathering composed of all classes of the respectable inhabitants was very large, outside the house the crowd was great. The meeting was presided over by Babu Dev Coomar Singh, one of the foremost and enlightened Zemindars of the District, who is also a Commissioner of the Chuprah Municipality, a Member of the Charitable Dispensary and Local Committee of Public Instruction.

Babu Dev Coomar Singh opened the meeting by thanking the meeting for selecting him chairman and briefly stated the

object of the demonstration. Babu Keshub Lall Ghose of the Sarun bar, Secretary to the Chuprah Association, rose and spoke in Urdu dwelling on the advantages of English education, and on the propriety of memorializing the Government of Bengal and his Grace the Secretary of State for India against the anti-English education policy of the Government. He addressed the meeting for about an hour and read a draft Memorial, similar to the one prepared by the British Indian Association at Calcutta.

Moulvie Suddakut Hossain, Sheristadar of the Judge's Court, a leading and learned member of the *Sheeah* Sect, stood up and said that he fully concurred with the speaker, and expressed his great regret on hearing that some of his Mahomedan countrymen were disposed to arrest the progress of English education and to establish only the Vernacular, in which they were wrong, and will repent for ever and that they are not real friends to the country and its people.

Moonshee Furzanad Ali, a first class pleader and a leading member of the *Soonne* Sect, said that he also fully concurred with the second speaker.

Moulvie Mustumsur Billah, Head-Master of the Chuprah Training School, and a very learned and respectable Mahomedan gentleman rose and said that those, who wished to give the people a high education in the Vernacular language forgot that such education could not be complete through the medium of that language alone.

Next rose Babu Toolseepershad, the Judge's head-clerk, who seconded the Moulvie's views and explained the benefits that would be derived from English Education.

Lastly Moonshee Heeralall the Government pleader and a very respectable Zemindar and a leading member of the *Sree Bastob Kayest* Sect—rose and dwelt on benefits of English Education and cited himself as an example, for all his children were being educated in the English language. Then Babu Keshub Lall Ghose the Secretary rose and asked the general opinion of the meeting for memorializing the Government of

Bengal and the Secretary of State for India against the new education policy of the Government?

On this the whole meeting lifted up their hands and the motion was unanimously carried. Then the Secretary submitted the second Resolution. That a Select Committee be appointed to consult about the draft of the memorial presented and read out by the Secretary. Baboo Prosono Coomar Singh Sheristadar of the Magistracy seconded the motion and it was agreed that a Select Committee be appointed comprising the President, Secretary, Moonshee Furzanad Ali; and Heeralall, Moulvies Suddakut Hossain and Moostomsur Bellahs, Babus Monohur Mookerjee Sub-Assistant Surgeon, N. coor Chunder Banerjee, Court Inspector, Toolshepershad Judge's Head Clerk, and Prosono Coomar Singh Members.

The Secretary next submitted the 3rd resolution for circulating the Urdu petitions for collecting the signature of all classes of the people—after being translated into English and printed on parchment. Moulvie Suddakut Hossain seconded it and the motion was agreed to.

The Secretary then submitted the 4th resolution that printed memorials be forwarded to the Governments of Bengal, and India and the Secretary of State for India, the Patna Committee, British Indian Association, Calcutta, and to Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, London.

Moonshee Furzanad Ali seconded the motion, which was agreed to.

The Secretary then submitted the 6th resolution for a similar meeting against the Income Tax, the majority being in favor of the motion it was carried.

The Secretary then moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to the Chairman. Babu Monohur Mookerjee seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

ORISSA.

BALASORE.

XLVI

To

THE HONORARY SECRETARY

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION,

Calcutta.

SIR,—I have the honor to forward herewith a copy of the proceedings of a meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Balasore held on the 26th Instant for the information of the British Indian Association and for being placed before their general meeting to be held on the 2nd proximo and to request that you will be good enough to communicate with the Secretary of the Balasore Committee in all matters in respect to the proposed movement.

I have the Honor to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) JUDUNATH DASS.

Secretary Balasore Meeting.

Proceedings of a general meeting of the native gentry of Balasore in pursuance of a requisition received from the British Indian Association held at the house of Babu Shamanund Dey, a Zemindar of the place, on Sunday the 26th June 1870.

Babu Bholanauth Doss Civil Engineer and a member of the British Indian Association was voted to the Chair and Babu Sreenauth Shen elected as Secretary to the Meeting.

The requisition of the British Indian Association under which the meeting was held having been read and translated into the vernacular language to the gentlemen present, and the object of the meeting having been fully discussed the following resolutions were proposed and carried by a majority of 23 votes.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That while fully aware of the importance of Mass Education this meeting consider the policy announced by the Government of India in respect to English Education, is calculated to put a stop to one of the greatest blessings conferred on the natives of this country inasmuch as they consider that whatever progress they have made since the advent of the British Government is solely due to English Education.

2. That this meeting consider that the time has not yet arrived for this country, specially Orissa, to take on herself the entire burden of educating her children in so efficient and extensive a manner as is at present done by the State, and that therefore they consider that the withdrawal of State aid will seriously interfere with the progress and well-being of the nation.

3. That this meeting appreciate the urgency and importance of memorializing Her Majesty's Government in England as contemplated by the British Indian Association, and that a committee be formed at Balasore to co-operate with that body in the furtherance of the object they have in view.

4 That Babu Brindabun Chunder Mundle, a zemindar and merchant of Balasore, now in Calcutta, be requested to attend the proposed meeting of the British Indian Association to represent the people of this district.

5 That a copy of the proceedings be sent to the British Indian Association for their information.

6. That Babus Dwarka Nath Sen, Prosonno Coomar Ghosal, Shamanund Day. Juggo Bundoo Ghose, Radhasyam Doss, Gopee Nath Kur and Judu Nath Doss be elected to compose a committee for the management of all business in connection with the requisition, and Babu Judu Nath Doss be their Secretary.

7. That a vote of thanks be given to Babu Shamanund Dey for zeal and exertions in convening this Meeting.

After a vote of thanks to the Chair the meeting broke up.

(Sd.) DWARKA NAUTH LAW,

And others 24 natives.

CUTTACK.

XLVII

A GENERAL meeting of the inhabitants of Cuttack having been convened by the President of the Cuttack Debating Society for Friday the 24th June 1870, at the request of the native members, to discuss the subject of the withdrawal of state aid from English Education and the advisability of passing certain Resolutions on the subject for submission to the general meeting of the inhabitants of Bengal to be held in Calcutta on the 2nd proximo, among those present were the undermentioned gentlemen:

T. Kirkwood Esq., C. S. (President of the Cuttack Society) in the chair, T. E. Ravenshaw Esq., C. S. (Commissioner of Orissa), W. C. Taylor Esq., R. V. Stoney Esq., J. Campbell Esq., C. E. (Executive Engineer, Pooree Irrigation), Baboo Juggomohun Roy, Koilash Chunder Ghose, Harikrishna Doss, Woma Churn Haldar, Chundi Churn Banerjee, Rajkrishna Mukerji M. A. B. L., Dwarka Nath Chuckerbutty, Tarini Churn Mukerjea, and a large number of other native gentlemen.

The President on rising stated that Mr. Ravenshaw would first address the meeting.

Mr. Ravenshaw then addressed the meeting in Urdu pointing out that though in theory it was quite right that English and all other Education should be left to support itself, still in his opinion the time for any withdrawal of state aid from English Education in Bengal, and especially in Orissa, where the native gentlemen where less wealthy—had not yet arrived and that any withdrawal of state aid would in fact be tantamount, closing a large portion of the existing English Schools and Colleges.

Baboo Sudarsun Doss then expressed his concurrence in the opinions expressed by Mr. Ravenshaw.

Baboo Kalipodo Banerjea in a lengthy and eloquent speech in Oriah further discussed the subject and expressed his concurrence with the previous speakers.

Baboo Rajkrishna Mukerjea spoke to the same effect in Bengali

Baboo Woma Churn Haldar speaking in Bengali expressed an opinion that the Meeting should memorialize Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India direct, rather than convey its opinions through the British Indian Association as had been proposed.

The Secretary Baboo Obinash Chunder Chatterjea then proceeded to read out certain Resolutions that had been drafted, these were unanimously approved by the meeting and are given below :

I. That this meeting desire to record its deep sense of the benefits which the people of this country generally, and of Orissa in particular, have derived from the study of the English language, which has infused into them new life and produced a marked effect upon their condition, intellectual, social, political and moral.

II. That this meeting which recognising the necessity and importance of Vernacular Education emphatically denies that it is as yet adapted to high intellectual culture, even in Bengal where the study and development of the Vernacular have made such rapid strides within the last four decades.

III. That in the opinion of this meeting the Vernaculars have been chiefly enriched by the English Educated natives, and it would appear that if the study of the English language were neglected the Vernacular literature would be the first thing to suffer.

IV. That in the opinion of this meeting, the cost of the administration of the country, would be much increased, the burdens upon the people much heavier, and the difficulties in the way of suitors in the Law Courts still more serious, if justice were administered in this country through the medium of interpreted evidence and translated proceedings in the absence of the cheap but efficient native agency, which English Education has called into existence.

V. That in the opinion of this meeting any Government measure, which would propose to divert the money now spent upon English Education, to other objects and throw the whole charge thereof upon students, would result in the closure of many of the Government schools and colleges, a large portion of the students in those institutions being of a class by no means wealthy.

VI. That this meeting while most earnestly deprecating withdrawal or diminution of State aid to English Education by no means under estimates the value of Vernacular Education for the masses of the people—a subject now engaging the attention of Government. This meeting would be sorry to see progress in the direction of Vernacular Education retard advancement of the higher English school.

VII. That a copy of the foregoing Resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary to the British Indian Association for submission at the general meeting of the inhabitants of Bengal to be held at the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 2nd proximo.

A discussion then arose on Baboo Woma Churn Haldar's suggestion of a memorial. Mr. Ravenshaw expressed his opinion, that the two things should be kept distinct. The present meeting should convey its opinion to the British Indian Association for expression at the general meeting to be held in Calcutta on the 2nd proximo. The memorial to the Secretary of State, should take a much more general form and should be supported by signatures from Balasore, Pooree, and other large towns in the Province. He would be happy to forward any such memorial to Government through his office.

The President concurred in the opinion expressed by Mr. Ravenshaw and the meeting after expression its concurrence broke up, with a vote of thanks to the chair.

POOREE.

XLVIII

At a meeting of the gentlemen of Pooree held on the 26th June 1870 for discussing the present Educational policy

of the Government of India, as announced in the supplement to the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th ultimo, it was resolved.

1st. That the present state of this country, especially of the province of Orissa being not such as to afford ample funds for superior education, independent of State aid, beginning as it is to appreciate very faintly the importance of such education, the new Educational policy of the Government of India would be highly detrimental to the interests of this country.

2nd. That while this meeting fully sympathises with the views of Government regarding the Education of the masses it cannot but express its regret that that would be afforded at the sacrifice of higher Education upon which the rise and progress of this country so much depend, and which in the long run would be a very durable and effective means of realizing the end the Government has in view, inasmuch as liberally educated youths would never lose sight of the interests of their brothers of the lower class, who are already beginning to benefit from the exertions of their liberally educated countrymen.

3rd. That this meeting is fully aware that the scale of fees now prevalent in our Schools and Colleges is already too high for the people of this country to meet, and is almost on a par with those in England, by far a richer country, and that therefore any further enhancement of them would lead to the deplorable result of the closing of many a School and College against middle class youths who compose the main strength of those Institutions.

4th. That this meeting owing to the above considerations feel it a duty to memorialize His Grace the Secretary of State for India, through the British Indian Association for discountenancing the proposed Educational policy of the Government of India.

5th. That a Committee of the following gentlemen be elected with Baboo Grish Chunder Chatterjea as Secretary for communicating with the British Indian Association, and for carrying out any measures which will be deemed expedient regarding the present question:

Baboo Ombica Churn Roy Chowdry
„ Ram Dass Chakravarty
„ Govinda Chunder Mahapatter
„ Khetter Mohun Bose
„ Sreenath Bose
„ Nitya Nundo Dass
„ Hurry Hur Dass
„ Siva Misra
„ Mahanta Narain Dass
„ Grish Chunder Chatterjea B. L. Secretary.

6th. That a copy of the above resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary to the British Indian Association.

GRISH CHUNDER CHATTERJEA,
Secretary.

MOGUL SERAI.

XLIX

Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Native Literary Society of Mogul Serai, held on the 21st June 1870.

1. That the Education policy of Government in withdrawing its aid from the State Colleges and thereby increasing the cost of English Education will check the rising progress of Bengal and throw its civilization and learning many a year back.

2. That barring a few individuals, the rich men being apathetic towards education and the middle classes being those who chiefly resort to Colleges, the present policy of Government has a tendency to injure those who are not at all in a position to educate their sons at an enhanced cost.

3. That whilst taking every possible step towards the spread of Vernacular Education among the masses, it is incumbent on Government to allow the tide of progress to flow as rapidly as ever by giving full encouragement to high Education.

4. That the stoppage of High English Education will be detrimental to the cause of good Government inasmuch as it will deprive our Rulers of the assistance of *servants* of India, either as officers of the realm or as advisers in the Council Chamber.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE JUDGMENTS

OF THE

HIGH COURT IN THE RENT CASE.

OPINION seems to be pretty unanimous now that the judgment of the majority of the Judges in the rent case, has entirely failed to offer a satisfactory solution, either on legal or equitable principles, of the difficulties, which in regard to the adjustment of rent have been experienced since the passing of Act X. of 1859.

The rule of proportion adopted in that judgment as infallibly pointing to the landlord's share of enhanced rent, besides being uncontrollable in practice, is unsound in principle, as it is based upon a most unwarrantable interpretation of Section 6, *viz.*, the occupancy clause of the Act, as giving the tenant with such a right a share in the enhanced value of the produce according to a fixed and invariable rule. The fallacy of such an interpretation of the Section and its mischievous tendency, have been made so glaringly manifest in the masterly judgment delivered by the Chief Justice, that it is hardly possible to throw further light upon them.

Act X. of 1859 has no doubt made some encroachments on the rights of the landholders, but it would be most uncharitable to suppose, that the framer of that law or those who were associated with him in the passing of it, were so regardless of the rights of private property as for a moment to have contemplated the imposition of such limitations and restrictions to the enjoyment of them, as the judgment under notice

would fain make it appear. Instead of wandering in the mystic regions of the Vedas and of Menu, if the learned Judges had only confined themselves to the Act itself which they were expounding, they would have avoided committing themselves to the dangerous dictum into which they have evidently been betrayed.

On reference to Section 3 of the draft Bill we find that, with the exception of hereditary ryots holding lands at fixed rates, all ryots either with or without a right of occupancy, were to be entitled to receive pottahs at the Pergunnah rates for the time being. The Section ran thus:

"Hereditary ryots holding lands at fixed rates of rent are entitled to receive pottahs at those rates. All other ryots and cultivators of land are entitled to receive pottahs according to the rates of rent for the time being established in the Purgunnah in which the land is situate, for land of the same description and quality, or if there be no known and recognized Purgunnah rates, according to the customary rates payable for land of a similar description in the places adjacent. The above rules are applicable not only to the first grant of pottahs, but also to the renewal (where right of renewal exists) of pottahs which may expire or which may become cancelled in consequence of the sale of the tenure or estate in which the land is situate for arrears of rent or revenue."

In respect of this Section the Board of Revenue for the Lower Provinces, evidently overlooking the qualifying words "for the time being," thus remarked: "To the first four lines of this Section, the Board have no objection to offer. But they object decidedly to any attempt on the part of Government to interfere with the market price of land and to compel the Zemindar to grant pottahs at the Pergunnah rate. In practice perhaps in the greater portion of Bengal this Section would be a *dead letter, as there is no such thing*

as a generally recognized Pergunnah rate. But the Board are of opinion that the proposed interference is very objectionable, and they recommend the cancellation of the Section from line 5 *ad finem.*" In reference to the same Section Mr. Charles Currie, a distinguished Revenue officer of the North Western Provinces, thus remarked :

"This is an attempt arbitrarily to determine rates of rent and appears to me to be an infringement of the rights of the landlord, and liable to deter landholders from the employment of capital in the improvement of their estate." "It has been shown above that the amount of rent to be paid should be left to be settled between the landlord and the cultivator. No landlord will obtain a tenant at rates higher than will admit of *ordinary profit* to the cultivator."

It was evidently in conformity with these suggestions, that all mention of the Pergunnah rate was for the first time since 1793 omitted from an enactment, purporting to lay down rules for the determination of the rent of land. In the amended Bill, which afterwards passed into law, we find that a distinction has been made between ryots having a right of occupancy and those that have it not. With regard to the latter it is provided in Section 8 of the Act that, "ryots not having rights of occupancy are entitled to pottahs only at such rates as may be agreed on between them and the person to whom the rent is payable." In reference to the former, Section 17 rules that "no ryot having a right of occupancy shall be liable to an enhancement of the rent previously paid by him except on some one of the following grounds, namely,

1. "That the rate of rent paid by such ryot is below the prevailing rate payable by the same class of ryots for land of a similar description and with similar advantages in the places adjacent.

2. "That the value of the produce, or the productive powers of the land have been increased otherwise than by the agency or at the expence of the ryot.

3. "That the quantity of land held by the ryot has been proved by measurement to be greater than the quantity for which rent has been previously paid by him."

With every respect to the learned Judges I humbly maintain that the Legislature in framing this Section, did not contemplate that the rent of this class of tenants should be governed by the rate or share of produce which they had hitherto paid to their landlords.

First.—Because as shown above, it is quite plain that the Legislature must have been quite satisfied that there was no such thing as a generally recognized Pergunnah or invariable rate or share of the produce according to which any class of ryot paid their rents, when for the first time it advisedly excluded the expression Pergunnah rate from the Act.

Second.—Because the fact of leave being given, by Section 5 of the Act, to the proprietor to show that the rate previously paid by the ryot was not fair and equitable, and thereby obtain a revision of it, is opposed to the presumption that the rate at which the last adjustment of the ryot's rent had taken place, is the invariable customary rate which must govern the future adjustment of his rent.

Third.—Because the first ground of enhancement is diametrically opposed to the assumption, which in the opinion of the Judges sanctioned the rule of proportion. If the first ground has any meaning it must mean this, that in case the ryots of this class paid their rents at rates or share of the produce different from each other or from the rate, at which the rent of the adjacent lands were paid, it will be a just ground for the Zemindar to enhance the lower rates to

the highest standard; or in other words if A paid ¼ B ⅓ while C, a ryot of the same or neighbouring estate, but of the same class, paid ½ the produce of his land as the Zemindar's rent for the same, the rates of A and B are to be raised to the standard of C: whereas the essence of the rule of proportion is centred in the inviolability of the rate at which a ryot's rent has been once adjusted.

Fourth.—Because in cases arising out of the 3rd ground of enhancement, the rule of proportion will lead to the monstrous injustice of allowing a trespasser to continue his possession, on payment of rent at a rate which may be considerably less than the market rate. Surely the Legislature could not have intended that the Zemindar should not have even the market rate for the land, which is discovered to have been long and clandestinely enjoyed by a ryot, without payment of any consideration whatever, except an occasional fee to the Naib in charge of the property to purchase peace, in this downright act of fraud upon the landlord.

Further, Section 21, Act X. of 1859 provides,—

"When an arrear of rent remains due from any ryot at the end of the Bengal year or the end of the month of Jeth of the Fusly, or Willayutee year as the case may be, such ryot shall be liable to be ejected from the land in respect of which the arrear is due. Provided that no ryot, having a right of occupancy or holding under a pottah the term of which has not expired, shall be ejected otherwise than in execution of a decree or order under the provisions of this Act."

It is quite evident from the above Section that the Legislature has made no distinction whatever between a tenure with a right of occupancy attached to it and that without one, but that the holders of both are rendered liable to ejectment in execution of a decree for arrears remaining due at the end of the year. Is it for a moment to be supposed that if it

was the intention of the Legislature to attach to these tenures rights which are claimed for them, that they should have been rendered voidable for arrears of rent, just as the land held by a tenant at will? Is it at all likely that it should not have struck the Legislature of 1859, when the value of land had already risen unprecedentedly high, that tenures with such privileges attached to them would, if sold in execution, always command a price more than sufficient to cover any amount of arrears recoverable under the Act, and should they nevertheless have been classed in the same category as tenures at will? Stretch the law any how, it will not sanction the conversion of a ryot with a bare possession of 12 years into a co-sharer. A co-proprietary right without the power of transfer is absurd, and the Legislature has taken care in the very Section which defines the tenure, that it should not be transferable but simply heritable. "The holding of the father or other person from whom a ryot inherits shall be deemed to be the holding of the ryot within the meaning of this Section." *Vide* Section 6, Act X. of 1859.

But as an apology for wandering from the strict letter of the law, it has been argued that by the immemorial usage of the country and prior legislation, the ryot has had a certain share of the produce assigned to him, and that the remainder was the sovereign's share, and that so long as he paid that share he was not to be molested in the occupation of his land. That the Pergunnah rate was no other than this customary share of the sovereign in the produce of the land. That the rent of the ryot whether before or after the Permanent Settlement had, until the innovation for the first time introduced by Regulation XI. of 1822, been determined by this customary or Pergunnah rate. That Act X. of 1859, by Section 6, has only restored the ancient rights of the ryots, and

has consequently revived the Pergunnah rate, which then governed the rents payable by the ryots.

Notwithstanding the haziness which peryades the judgments on the subject of rate as distinguished from rent, and the strange deductions which have flowed from it, I would take for granted that the Judges meant what the word really implied, and what after all they have at last adopted in support of their views, *viz.* a certain share in the produce of the soil which however is contended to be invariable. I fully admit the force of the truth that the land belonged to him who first reclaimed it from its virgin state, just as much as I admit that the whole human race is one brotherhood, and that the heritage derived from one common Father should be shared and enjoyed by all alike. I only regret that the degeneracy of man should have so fast set in, as to necessitate even in the days of Menu (Satya yoge,) the maintenance of institutions, which deprived the proprietors of the soil of one-sixth of their hard-earned produce. There is no knowing what mutations this rate gradually underwent until during Akbar's reign it swelled up to ½ the produce as the sovereign's share, with cesses innumerable. It would be a mere waste of time to hunt for materials whereupon to rest any general principle of right, when the will of the sovereign was its only measure, and might the only arbiter. I only wonder that the learned Judges should have considered it safe to draw judicial conclusions from opinions expressed in historical works, in matters which they must of their own experience, know well enough, are not easy of solution, even upon an enquiry conducted with all the precision of a judicial investigation. Whatever may be the value of the authorities quoted, or the logical sequence of the facts recited in the judgment, one thing is certain that the invariable customary rate, which is al-

leged to have governed the sovereign's share from time immemorial in the produce of the soil, had varied from one-sixth in the time of Menu to ½ in the reign of Akbar with cesses limited only by the ryot's capacity to bear. Let us see how this customary or Pergunnah rate and the right of occupancy have been recognized and respected under the British rule.

It is admitted in the judgment that there was no relaxation in the arbitrary exactions from the ryots, even after the acquisition of the Dewanny by the East India Company. On the contrary estates being then annually let out in farm by competition, and without any reference to their actual assets, the farmers thereof, as a matter of course, resorted to all sorts of exactions to meet their engagements with Government, and at the same time secure a sufficient profit for themselves. It was upon the basis of the rents thus extorted from the ryots, that the assets of the different estates were determined and a Permanent Settlement made with the Zemindars, allowing them as Malikana one-eleventh of the gross rental less charges of collection. Under such a state of things, how can it for a moment be contended that the customary rate was respected ? There can be no question that the ryot has had always allotted to him a share in the produce of the land cultivated by him, or else why should he cultivate it at all, but the question is—has it ever been a fixed and invariable one ? It has been shown that it was not so during the Mahomedan period nor subsequent to the acquisition of the Dewanny by the East India Company, and that it was upon the basis of the arbitrarily imposed rental of the farming period, that the Permanent Settlement was made with Zemindars. I will now proceed to shew under what terms and conditions the estates were handed to the Zemindars.

Referring to Regulation VIII. of 1793, we find that no rights to or in land were respected, by Government at the time except such as were created by written contract, and that no right of occupancy was recognized, except such as was derived from a pottah.

Section 16 of that Regulation provides that

"Mocurreree leases to persons not the actual proprietors of the lands included in such leases, if granted or confirmed by the Supreme Government, or obtained previous to the Company's accession to the Dewanny, are to be continued in force during the lives of the lessees, subject to an abatement of the fixed jumma for the authorized sayer resumed or abolished; but on their death, the settlement is to be made with the actual proprietors of the soil, agreeably to this Regulation."

Section 18:

"Mocurrereedars holding lands of which they are not the actual proprietors, and whose Mocurreree grants have been obtained since the Company's accession to the Dewanny, and never received the sanction of the Supreme Government, are to be dispossessed, and the settlement is to be made with the actual proprietors of the soil, under this Regulation. In cases, however, where such Mocurrereedars have been in possession of their Mocurrerees for a term exceeding twelve years, they are to receive during their lives (subject to the pleasure of the Honorable Court of Directors) the difference between the jumma at which they held the lands, and that which may be now agreed to by the actual proprietors, added to the neat produce of the authorized sayer, resumed or abolished."

So that even Mocurreree leases granted or confirmed by the Supreme Government or obtained previous to the Company's accession to the Dewanny were to continue in force only during the lives of the lessees, whilst such Mocurrereedars as had obtained their grants since the Dewanny,

and which had not received the sanction of the Supreme Government, were to be dispossessed, and possession for 12 years, was so far respected, that the grantees were held entitled "to receive during their lives, subject to the pleasure of the Honorable Court of Directors, the difference between the jumma at which they held the land, and that which may be now agreed to by the actual proprietor." This at once shows how the right of occupancy or even of property, other than that of the actual proprietors, was respected at the time of the Permanent Settlement.

Section 19 of Regulation VIII. of 1793 rules that

"Istemrardars, however, who have not got possession of their lands to the exclusion, or without the consent of the actual proprietors, as the Mocurrereedars mentioned in Section 18, are supposed to have done, but hold them of the proprietors on pottah, or lease, are to be considered as a species of pottah talookdars, and the settlement is to be made with them as hereafter specified."

With respect to these Istemrardars further provision as promised is made in Section 49, which says,

"It is to be understood, however that Istemrardars (Mocurrereedars) of the nature of those described in Section 18, who have held their land at a fixed rent for more than twelve years, are not liable to be assessed with any increase, either by the Officers of Government, or by the Zemindars or other actual proprietor of land, should he engage for his own lands. With regard to such Istemrardars also, as have not held their lands at a fixed rent for so long a period, if the Zemindar or other actual proprietor of land has bound himself by the deed which he may have executed, not to lay any increase upon them, he shall not be allowed to infringe the conditions of the deed for his own benefit, but must confine his demands to the rent he may have voluntarily agreed to receive."

By mistake the Istemrardars for whom provision is made in this Section are said to be those described in Section 18, whereas Istemrardars holding on pottahs from the proprietors are described in Section 19, while Section 18 describes those who held independently of the Zemindar; and who are by that Section rendered liable to dispossession. Reading Sections 19 and 49 together what can be more clear, than that it was not the length of possession which was respected, but the contract which the proprietor had voluntarily entered into, and which consequently he must keep inviolate? In the same spirit and precisely on the same principle were both the Clauses of Section 60, Regulation VIII. of 1793 enacted.

Clause 1.—"All leases to under-farmers and ryots made previous to the conclusion of the settlement, and not contrary to any Regulation, are to remain in force until the period of their expiration, unless proved to have been obtained by collusion, or from persons not authorized to grant them."

Clause 2.—"No actual proprietor of land or farmer, or persons acting under their authority, shall cancel the pottahs of the khood-kasht ryots, except upon proof that they have been obtained by collusion; or that the rents paid by them within the last three years, have been reduced below the rate of the Nirikbundee of the Pergunnah; or that they have obtained collusive deductions, or upon a general measurement of the Pergunnah for the purpose of equalizing and correcting the assessment. The rule contained in this Clause is not to be considered applicable to Behar."

So that even in the case of khood-kasht ryots, the rights of those only were to be respected, who held their lands on pottahs from the proprietor. Then come the dependent talookdars, who being as much proprietors of the land as the Zemindar himself, the latter is enjoined by Clause 1 Section 51 not to demand an increase from them.

With the exception of the above I challenge any one to show that there was any limit imposed upon the proprietor's right of making any settlement for the lands in his estate which he might think would be most advantageous to himself, as emphatically declared in Section 52, Regulation VIII. of 1793,—

"The Zemindar or other actual proprietor of land, is to let the remaining lands of his Zemindaree or estate, under the prescribed restrictions, in whatever manner he may think proper; but every engagement contracted with under-farmers, shall be specific as to the amount and conditions of it; and all sums received by any actual proprietor of land, or any farmer of land, of whatever description, over and above what is specified in the engagements of the persons paying the same, shall be considered as extorted, and be repaid with a penalty of double the amount."

The restrictions alluded to are.

Section 53.—"No person contracting with a Zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor, or employed by him in the management of the collections, shall be authorized to take charge of the lands or collections, without an amulnamah, or written commission, signed by such Zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor."

Section 54.—"The impositions upon the ryots, under the denomination of Abwab, Muhtote, and other appellations, from their number and uncertainty, having become intricate to adjust, and a source of oppression to the ryots; all proprietors of land and dependent talookdars, shall revise the same, in concert with the ryots, and consolidate the whole with the asul, into one specific sum. In large Zemindarees, or estates, the proprietors are to commence this simplification of the rents of their ryots, in the Pergunnahs where the impositions are most numerous, and to proceed in it gradually, till completed, but so, that it be effected for the whole

of their lands, by the end of the Bengal year 1198, in the Bengal districts, and of the Fussily and Wallaitee year 1198, in the Behar and Orissa districts, these being the periods fixed for the delivery of pottahs as hereafter specified."

Section 55.—"No actual proprietor of land, or dependent talookdar, or farmer of land, of whatever description, shall impose any new Abwab or Muhtote upon the ryots, under any pretence whatever. Every exaction of this nature shall be punished by a penalty equal to three times the amount imposed, and if, at any future period, it be discovered, that new Abwab or Muhtote have been imposed, the person imposing the same, shall be liable to this penalty, for the entire period of such impositions."

Section 56.—"It is expected, that in time, the proprietors of land dependent talookdars, and farmers of land, and the ryots, will find it for their mutual advantage to enter into agreements in every instance for a specific sum, for a certain quantity of land, leaving it to the option of the latter to cultivate whatever species of produce may appear to them likely to yield the largest profit; where however, it is the established custom to vary the pottah for lands according to the articles produced thereon, and while the actual proprietors of land, dependent talookdars, or farmers of land, and ryots in such places, shall prefer an adherence to this custom, the engagements entered into between them are to specify the quantity of land, species of produce, rate of rent, and amount thereof, with the term of the lease, and a stipulation, that in the event of the species of produce being changed, a new engagement shall be executed for the remaining term of the first lease, or for a longer period if agreed on; and in the event of any new species being cultivated, a new engagement, with the like specification and Clause is to be executed accordingly."

The restrictions provided in the above Sections, it is quite clear, were framed solely with a view to prevent the Zemindars from claiming or recovering from the ryots more than

what should have been mutually agreed to, and to aid the Courts of justice in determining the exact amount payable by the ryots under the contract, which had, in the language of the Regulation, "become intricate to adjust" by reason of the number and uncertainty of the cesses imposed upon them in addition to the asul jumma; and not, as is erroneously supposed, to dictate the rates of rent at which the Zemindars were to settle with their ryots and grant pottahs. That is left to be settled between the Zemindar and the ryot without let or hindrance, as is distinctly laid down in the two Clauses of Section 57.

Clause 1.—"The rents to be paid by the ryots, by whatever rule or custom they may be regulated, shall be specially stated in the pottah; which in every possible case, shall contain the exact sum to be paid by them."

Clause 2.—"In cases where the rate only can be specified, such as where the rents are adjusted upon a measurement of the lands after cultivation, or on a survey of the crop, or where they are made payable in kind, the rate and terms of payment, and proportion of the crop to be delivered, with every condition, shall be clearly specified."

The above I trust is a faithful analysis of the terms and conditions of the Permanent Settlement, and I maintain that there is nothing in them which literally or constructively would favor the idea of a right of occupancy, whether of khood-kasht or py-kasht ryots, except what was derived from a pottah; or of any rate for the adjustment of rent, other than what could be agreed upon between the Zemindar and his tenant. Possibly the second Clause of Section 60 when read in connection with the first, might be held to convey to the khood-kasht ryots as had held their lands on pottah, the right of retaining possession of them, even after expiry of the leases, on payment of rent at the Nirikbundee of the Pergun-

nah. But I contend that this Nirikbundee is meant to be the competitive rate of the Pergunnah for the time being, and not a fixed and invariable rate. For, as we have already seen, neither the rental on the basis of which the Permanent Settlement had been made, nor the rent for which the Zemindars upon the conclusion of the settlement with them, were directed to grant pottah, were regulated by any fixed or recognized Pergunnah rate, but were the consolidated product, in each particular case, of asul jumma and cesses which were innumerable and uncertain, being limited only, as is authoritatively admitted, by the ryot's capacity to pay. The jumma therefore being a compound of uncertain and arbitrarily imposed items, must differ in each case, and cannot therefore by any stretch of argument be supposed to represent the invariable customary Pergunnah rate. Neither can it be contended that the asul jumma represented the Pergunnah rate: since the Permanent Settlement was made with the Zemindars upon the basis of the consolidated jumma payable by the ryots, leaving a margin of 1-11th only for their malikana. It would therefore endanger alike the integrity of the public revenue and ruin the Zemindars, if they were compelled to grant renewals of expired leases, or make new set tlements, at the rate of the asul jumma. So that the safety of the public revenue and a just regard of private rights alike forbid the idea of the rate of the asul jumma being the Nirikbundee of the Pergunnah; and, as already shown, the consolidated jumma being an arbitrarily imposed rent, cannot have any uniformity so as to indicate the Pergunnah rate; the Nirikbundee of the Pergunnah mentioned in Clause 2, Section 60 must therefore be understood to mean the rate established in the Pergunnah for the time being by competition. In fact otherwise it would be a severe reflection upon the

memory of that distinguished statesman, the author of the Permanent Settlement, as being capable of depriving by such disingenuous legislation, the full enjoyment of those prospective benefits, which it must be supposed, had alone tempted the Zemindars, to accept the settlement upon such exorbitant terms, as a payment to Government of 10-11ths of the then assets.

But it is argued, that from the terms and conditions of the Permanent Settlement, reservation has been made by Clause 1, Section 8, Regulation I. of 1793.

"It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil, and no Zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land, shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment, which they have respectively agreed to pay."

This is simply a declaration of what is always a duty incumbent upon Government and not a reservation from the terms and conditions of the settlement—and it will as much justify Government in dictating to the Zemindars, that they are to take from their ryots $\frac{1}{4}$ the produce when they can get $\frac{1}{3}$ in the open market, as it will sanction the imposition of another 10 per cent. upon the Government demand. To the credit of the Government it must be said, that no encroachment had yet been made on the rights, inherent to property, or such as had been specifically guaranteed by the Permanent Settlement, which upon discovery or proper representation has not been immediately withdrawn.

The advantages held out by the Permanent Settlement being all prospective and distant, nor under any circumstance available to many; since it is not every District nor every estate in any District, that contained waste lands, (the only boon offered by the Settlement), the evils of over-assessment soon began to be felt. The Zemindars discovered that it was not easy to meet the Government demand punctually, assessed as it was at ten-elevenths of the then assets of their estates; and as unlike the practice which obtained prior to the Permanent Settlement, the penalty of defalcation was the absolute transfer of the property by public sale, hundreds of estates changed hands shortly after the settlement. To save as much as they could, from the utter ruin which stared them in the face, the Zemindars misapprehending the full scope and meaning of the privileges, which as a necessary consequence of the Permanent Settlement, had been extended to them but which were only conditional upon fulfilment of their own engagements, resorted to the usual expedient of the weak and the ignorant, and created dependent talooks at reduced or nominal rents, and gave them out on perpetual leases, either for a consideration, or held them *benamee* as a future provision for themselves, in case the property should be sold for arrears of Government Revenue. This brought into existence many dependent talooks not within the meaning of Sections 48 and 51 of Regulation VIII. of 1793. Under this state of things Regulation XLIV. of 1793 was passed, not as the judgment of the High Court under notice would make it appear, to declare or confirm the right of the ryots to hold lands at Pergunnah rates, but, as the Preamble to that Regulation fully discloses, to restrain improvident Zemindars from depreciating their property, and to undeceive them of the idea, that the tenures which they

created at nominal rents, would survive the sale of the parent estate, for a breach of their contract with Government. Certainly in Section 5 of that Regulation, the cancelment of the prior engagement of the tenures, is mentioned as the consequence of the sale for arrears of Government Revenue; but it must be borne in mind, that with ⅓ the area of Bengal then lying waste, the demand was for ryots and not for lands, as is very correctly observed by Mr. Justice Seton-Karr. The Legislature very naturally imagined that the threat of eviction would carry very little terror with it, and in its then anxiety to preserve in their integrity as far as practicable, the assets of the estates at the time of the settlement, simply provided that the cancelled leases are to be renewed at the Pergunnah rates, without fully weighing the seeds of contention and litigation it was thereby sowing, by introducing a vague and meaningless word to regulate the rent at the renewal of the leases. The mischief thus created was still more intensified by the enactment of Regulation IV. of 1794 in Section 6 of which it was provided,

"The approbation of the Collector required to be obtained to pottahs by Section 58, Regulation VIII. of 1793, is to be considered to extend to the form only. If a dispute shall arise between the ryots and the persons from whom they may be entitled to demand pottahs regarding the rates of the pottahs, (whether the rent be payable in money or kind,) it shall be determined in the Dewanny Adawlut of the Zillah in which the lands may be situated, according to the rates established in the Pergunnah for lands of the same description and quality as those respecting which the dispute may arise."

To be consistent the same rule was extended by Section 7 to pottahs, which had become cancelled under the operation

of Regulation of XLIV. 1793, namely upon sale of the estate for arrears of Government Revenue.

Section 7.—"The rules in the preceding Section are to be considered applicable not only to the pottahs which the ryots are entitled to demand in the first instance under Regulation VIII. of 1793, but also to the renewal of pottahs which may expire or become cancelled under Regulation XLIV. of 1793. And to remove all doubt regarding the rates at which the ryots shall be entitled to have such pottahs renewed, it is declared, that no proprietor or farmer of land, or any other person, shall require ryots, whose pottahs may expire or become cancelled under the last mentioned Regulation, to take out new pottahs at higher rates than the established rates of the Pergunnah for lands of the same quality and description, but that ryots shall be entitled to have such pottahs renewed at the established rates, upon making application for that purpose to the person by whom their pottahs are to be granted in the same manner as they are entitled to demand pottahs in the first instance, by Regulation VIII. of 1793."

As a saving Clause, Section 5 of the same Regulation provided, that a notification hung up in the principal cutchery or cutcheries of the Zemindar, to the effect, that pottahs according to the approved form and at the established rates, would be immediately granted to those who might apply for the same, should be considered as a legal tender of pottah, and that the proprietors thereupon should be entitled to recover rents from such ryots by the process of distraint, just as if he had complied with the requirements of Section 59, Regulation VIII. of 1793. But this was neutralized by Sections 9 and 10, Regulation XVII. of 1793, which prescribed that the distress should be withdrawn, if the ryot contested the claim of the Zemindar, and entered into a bond to institute a suit in the Dewanny Court within a specified time. So that

in the event of the ryot, refusing to grant kabuleat even on the basis of the rental, according to which the Permanent Settlement had been concluded, if the Zemindar, availing himself of the remedy provided in Section 5, Regulation IV. of 1794, proceeded to attach his crop, the ryot had only to contest the claim, and enter into a bond to institute a suit in the Dewanny Court, and the attachment would, under Section 9, Regulation XVII. of 1793, be immediately withdrawn. The Zemindar was thus kept out of his rents, pending the final solution of the question by a chancery suit, as to whether the claim of the Zemindars had been computed according to the Pergunnah rate or otherwise, the loophole provided by Regulations XLIV. of 1793 and IV. of 1794 whereby the ryots could escape, and put off to an indefinite length of time, the just claims of the Zemindar.

One can easily conceive the difficulties, uncertainties, and the chaotic confusion, which these injudicious enactments had introduced into the landed interests of the country, and the amount of misery, demoralization, and litigation, of which they proved the most fruitful source :—The ryot, keeping at bay the auction-purchaser, in the recovery of his rents ; the Judges from the first to the last Court, exhausting their energies in fighting that gigantic phantom, the Pergunnah rate, without being able finally to dispose of it ; the Zemindar unable to recover his rents by legal means, either fabricating a kabuleat, or taking the law into his own hands, as the more summary and effectual mode of obtaining, what he knew the constituted Courts, owing to the uncertainty of the law, was incompetent to grant. As an inevitable consequence, incendiarism, lattialism and rapine, were freely resorted to, before the Zemindars whether original engagers with the Government, or purchasers at the Government sale, al-

lowed their estates to be brought to the hammer. Nevertheless we find, that hundreds of valuable Zemindarees, were sold at every sale for a mere trifle, since none but the most adventurous would invest their money, in what was then considered, the most uncertain and perilous venture; for in those days incarceration in irons, was not unfrequently the punishment, which the Zemindars had to undergo in the maintenance of their property. Several Zemindarees that I can name, exchanged hands then for so many thousands, which are now worth as many lacs. This was not owing to any want of capital in the country, for the Bysacks and the Mullicks of Calcutta, and the Karfarmas of Moorshedabad and Dacca, had already grown very rich by their commercial connection with the East India Company; but because they religiously kept back from that field of speculation, leaving it to the more enterprizing and unscrupulous. The Preamble to Regulation XXXV. of 1795 thus laments the state of things then prevailing:—

"Government not admitting of any delay in the payment of the public revenue receivable from proprietors and farmers of land, justice requires that they should have the means of levying their rents and revenues with equal punctuality; and that the persons by whom they may be payable, whether under-farmers, dependant talookdars, ryots, or others, should be enabled, in like manner, to realize the rents and revenues from which their engagements with the proprietors or farmers are to be made good. Regulation XVII. of 1793 was enacted with a view to enable all of the above-mentioned descriptions of individuals, to enforce payment of arrears of rent or revenue, without application to the Courts of Judicature, as far as the amount might be realizable from the crops and personal property of the defaulter, leaving him to sue in the Courts for redress, in the event of any sums being unjustly exacted from him. This was the

leading principle of the Regulation; but to prevent so extensive a power being abused on the first delegation of it, provisions were made for obliging the distrainer to withdraw the attachment on property, in the event of his demand being contested by the defaulter, and of his giving security to try the justness of it within a specific time in the Court of Judicature, and to pay interest on the amount, with costs, in case of its being decreed to be due. These provisions, however, have been found to counteract the object of the Regulation, by the delay, often unavoidable, in bringing suits to a conclusion, and the opportunity which they afford to defaulter of protracting the discharge of just demands. In large estates, in which extensive tracts of country are under-farmed, the under-farmers often fall in arrear to so considerable an amount, as to render the realizing of the deficiency by the distress of their personal property impracticable. In such cases, the proprietors or farmers, are obliged to sue the defaulter or his surety in the Dewanny Adawlut for the recovery of the arrears, but as the persons to whom the arrears may be due, are not allowed any suspension in their payments to the public, whilst the suit is depending, the lands of proprietors are liable to be sold, and the persons and property of farmers are subject to attachment, for deficiencies arising not from their own mis-conduct or mis-management, but from breach of engagements on the part of their under-farmers. To obviate the above inconveniences, the following rules have been enacted."

By this enactment, the Sections 9 and 10 of Regulation XVII. of 1793 which required distrainers under certain conditions to withdraw the attachment, were rescinded.

But it was not until 1799 when the mischief had attained its maximum, that the eyes of Government were opened to the sad havoc, which the enactments in question *viz.*, 44 of 1793 and 4 of 1794 were committing, and the danger which was

impending upon the Government revenue itself. The Preamble to Regulation VII. of 1799 says :

"The powers which the landholders and farmers of land paying revenue to Government are at present allowed to exercise for enforcing payment of the rents due to them from their under-tenants, having in some cases been found insufficient, particularly where the crop not being in the immediate possession of the under-tenant in arrear cannot be distrained and sold, under the provisions contained in Regulations XVII. of 1793, and XXXV. of 1795. A considerable delay having also of late occurred in the payment of the public revenue due from many of the landholders which though ascribable in some instances to the cause above mentioned, can in others, be imputed only to a want of good faith on the part of certain of the Zemindars and other landholders, who taking advantage of the delay with which the process for disposing of their lands is unavoidably attended, have withheld payment of the instalments until the day appointed for the sale, and in many instances, there is reason to believe, have bought in their lands, when sold, in fictitious names or the names of irresponsible dependents. Moreover, the frequent and successive sales of land, within the currens year, having been found productive of material ill-consequencet, as well towards the land proprietors and under-tenants, as in their effect on the public interest in the fixed assessment of vthe land revenue. The Vice-President in Council, with a aniew to obviate the above injurious consequences hereafter,d to establish a more certain and easy process for enabling and holls ders and farmers of. lands to realize their rents, and the officer of Government to enforce payment of the public revenue without having recourse to sales of land till the close of the year, has enacted the following rules and provisions, to be in force throughout the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, from the promulgation of this Regulation in the several districts respectively."

The powers given to the Zemindars by this enactment to enforce payment of rent from the ryots, are pretty generally known, some of them, it is quite plain, would never have been sanctioned, unless the mischief created by the Regulations cited above, had been grievously felt. Such for instance as the power of issuing *Dustuck*, or warrant of arrest, as a preliminary measure against the ryot, immediately on institution of a suit for arrears, without any proof of default or even an affidavit from the complainant, that the arrears claimed were justly due. Again, the power given to the Zemindars of compelling the attendance of the tenants at their own cutcheries for the adjustment of rent &c. These and other equally stringent provisions, were it is evident, held to be indispensable to correct the evil effects of former legislation.

By clause 7, Section 15, Regulation VII. of 1799 it was provided that,—

"If the arrear be not liquidated within the current Bengal, Fussily, or Williaty year, (according as the place may be situated in the province of Bengal, Behar or Orissa,) either by the payments of the defaulter or his surety, or by the attachment of his tenure, the Zemindar or other proprietor of the land, or the farmer in whose farm the defaulter's tenure may be included, (if such farmer's lease extend beyond the current year,) is at liberty, at the commencement of the ensuing year, to make such provision for the future receipt of the rents payable to him from the land tenanted by the defaulter as he may judge proper, and may be consistent with the rights of all other persons concerned. If the defaulter be an under-farmer for the past year only, or whose lease may have expired with the past year, he can of course have no claim to any further lease; and although his lease may not have expired, if he shall have neglected to fulfil the conditions of it by the payment of his stipulated

rent, it must be considered liable to be annulled, or otherwise, at the option of the lessor. If the defaulter be a dependent talookdar, or the holder of any other tenure which, by the title deeds or established usage of the country, is transferable by sale or otherwise, it may be brought to sale, by application to the Dewanny Adawlut, in satisfaction of the arrear of rent; and the purchaser will become the tenant for the new year; or if the defaulter be a lease-holder or other tenant, having a right of occupancy only so long as a certain rent, or a rent determinable on certain principles according to local rates and usages, be paid without any right of property or transferable possession; the proprietor of whom such tenure is held, or the farmer or other person to whom such proprietor may have leased or committed his rights must be understood to have the right of ousting the defaulting tenant from the tenure he has forfeited by a breach of the conditions of it. In such cases, (*viz.*, in the several cases enumerated in this clause, under the stated exception when a sale of landed property may be desired) proprietors and farmers of land are at liberty to exercise the just powers appertaining to them, without any previous application to the Courts of Justice, but they will be held responsible for all acts done by them, or by their agents, which may exceed their just powers, and infringe the rights of under-tenants of whatever description, whether founded on pottahs or other written deeds and engagements, or on long prescription and established local usage. This regulation is not meant to define or limit the actual rights of any description of landholders or tenants; which can be properly ascertained and determined by judicial investigation only; but merely to point out in what manner defaulting tenants may be proceeded against in the event of their not paying the rents justly due from them; leaving them to recover their rights if infringed, with full costs and damages, in the established Courts of Justice, under the provisions already stated in this regulation, for bringing such causes to a determination with the least possible delay."

Though every description of tenants is here mentioned, we do not find any allusion made to that important personage the khood-kasht ryot, unless he was one of those described in the Section as " having a right of occupancy only," without any " right of property or transferable possession," and the tenants of this class the Zemindars were empowered to oust of their own accord in case of arrears at the end of the year " without any previous application to the Courts of Justice." This Section is re-enacted in Sections 21, 22 and 105 of Act X. of 1859 with this difference, that the ejectment of a ryot with or without right of occupancy cannot be effected, except in execution of a decree, and under the orders of the Court. These are the old occupancy ryots who are sought to be made co-sharers of the land with the Zemindars. Further. In the latter portion of Clause 5, Section 29, of this Regulation it is enacted :

" But in cases of public sales for arrears of the public revenue, the purchaser may without any previous application to the Adawlut, eject any of the under-renters whose leases are annulled by Section 5, of Regulation XLIV. of 1793, and who may decline the renewal of them on such terms as the purchaser by the above Regulation, and Section 7 of Regulation IV. of 1794, is authorized to require from them ; though it is hereby declared, in explanation of Section 5 Regulation XLIV. of 1794, that it is not meant to annul the leases, or in any wise affect the tenures of the Istemrardars, (or tenants at fixed rent,) described in Section 19 of Regulation VIII. of 1793, who by Section 49 of that Regulation, were exempted from any increase of their fixed jumma at the formation of the decennial settlement, provided they had held their tenures at a fixed rent for more than twelve years antecedent to that period. On the contrary, such under-tenants, (being declared in Section 19 of Regulation VIII. of 1793, a species of pottahs talookdars,) were meant to be included in Section 7 of

Regulation XLIV. of 1793, which exempts from any increase of rent, under that Regulation, the lands of dependent talookdars who were exempted from any increase of assessment at the formation of the decennial settlement, and declares the Revenue payable by such talookdars fixed for ever."

Now, what can be a better proof that the Legislature when it enacted this provision, was fully convinced that the Pergunnah rate was simply an apple of discord, and that it was necessary to put a stop to further mischief, by at once arming the purchaser with the power of ejecting such ryots, as did not agree to his terms of renewal, without any application to the Adawlut. It is remarkable also that no exception is made in the provisions of this Section, in favor of any class of tenants, other than those mentioned in Sections 19 and 49 of Regulation VIII. of 1793. Are we to believe, that if there was such a class of ryots, khood-kasht or pykasht, who had prescriptive rights of occupancy on payment of rent at a fixed customary Pergunnah rate, as are at this distant date claimed for them, that an exception would not have been made in their favor; but that they should have been made liable to be turned out of their home and hearth, at the will of the purchaser, without any reference or application to a Court? Nevertheless an unfortunate mistake in Regulations XLIV. of 1793 and IV. of 1794, even after an *amende* full and sufficient, is taken advantage of in the judgment, to prove that there was in ancient times, such a thing as an invariable Pergunnah rate, according to which, the rents of ryots once let into possession, were always regulated.

But though the dangerous consequences, arising from the provisions of Regulations XLIV. of 1793 and IV. of 1794, were to all intents and purposes, practically remedied by Regulations XXXV. of 1795 and VII. of 1799, as regarded auc-

tion-purchasers, the Sections requiring the grant and renewal of pottahs at Pergunnah rates, were not formally repealed until 1812, when by Regulations V. and XVIII. of that year, the proprietors generally, whether auction-purchasers or otherwise, were empowered to grant leases for any term of years, and at any rate of rent, that they might consider most conducive to their interests. The Sections run thus:

Section 3, *Regulation* V. *of* 1812.—"Section 2; Regulation XLIV. of 1793; Section 2, Regulation L. of 1795; and Clause second, Section 2, Regulation XLVII. of 1803, by which the proprietors of land, paying revenue to Government, are precluded from granting leases for a period exceeding ten years, are hereby rescinded; and proprietors of lands are declared competent to grant leases for any period which they may deem most convenient to themselves and tenants, and most conducive to the improvement of their estates."

Section 3 *Ditto Ditto.*—"Such parts of Regulation VIII. of 1793, and of Regulation IV. of 1794, as require that the proprietors of land shall prepare forms of pottahs, and that such forms shall be revised by the Collectors, and which declare that engagements for rent contracted in any other mode than that prescribed by the Regulations in question, shall be deemed to be invalid, are likewise hereby rescinded; and the proprietors of land shall henceforward be considered competent to grant leases to their dependent talookdars, under-farmers, and ryots, and to receive correspondent engagements for the payment of rent from each of those classes or any other classes of tenants, according to such form as the contracting parties may deem most convenient and most conducive to their respective interests. Provided, however, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to sanction or legalize the imposition of arbitrary or indefinite cesses, whether under the denomination of Abwab, Muhtote, or any other denomination. All stipulations or reservations of that nature

shall be adjudged by the Courts of Judicature to be null and void; but the Courts shall notwithstanding maintain and give effect to the definite Clauses of the engagements contracted between the parties, or in other words, enforce payment of such sums as may have been specifically agreed upon between them."

Preamble to Regulation XVIII. *of* 1812.—"Whereas it has been deemed expedient to remove doubts, which have arisen on the construction of Section 2, Regulation V. of 1812, and to rescind Sections 3 and 4, of Regulation XLIV. of 1793, and Sections 3 and 4 of Regulation L. of 1795, the following rules have been enacted, to be in force from the promulgation of them in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, (exclusive of the district of Cuttack, and the Pergunnahs formerly dependent on that district, but now annexed to the Zillah of Midnapore) and Benares."

Section 2, *Regulation* XVIII. *of* 1812.—"Doubts having arisen on the construction of Section 2, Regulation V. of 1812, it is hereby explained, that the true intent of the said Section was to declare proprietors of land competent to grant leases for any period, even to perpetuity, and at any rent, which they might deem conducive to their interests. Provided, however, that nothing contained in the former or present Regulation, shall be construed to empower persons holding a restricted interest in estates whether for life or for other limited period, or subject to control or restriction in the use or disposal of the property, to grant leases extending beyond the term of their own interest in the property, or exceeding their power or authority over it."

It is quite clear therefore, that by these enactments, the proprietors were restored to their original status of being able to make settlement with their ryots, for any term of years and at any rate of rent, they might consider most advantageous to themselves, with the further concession, that it would not be necessary to obtain the approval of

the Collector to the form according to which they were to deliver pottah to their tenants, as was enjoined in Section 58, Regulation VIII. of 1793.

The provisions of Clause 5, Section 29, Regulations VII. of 1799, by which, as shown above, the purchasers at a revenue sale were empowered to evict, with certain exceptions, all tenants who did not agree to their terms of renewal, were not repealed until 1822, and even then, to be re-enacted only, in more precise and comprehensive language, by Section 30, Regulation XI. of that year. In pursuance however, of the principle already laid down in the case of sales of putneee tenures in Clause 3, Section 11 of 1819, khood-kasht kudeemee ryots, who dated their tenures prior to the Permanent Settlement, were likewise exempted from ejectment. So that Regulation XI. of 1822, instead of demolishing any ancient rights as had been erroneously supposed, resuscitated the rights of khood-kasht ryots existing prior to the settlement, which no sale law had ever before recognized, as distinct from, and superior to, those of any pykasht ryots—and which Regulation VII. of 1799 and V. of 1815 had entirely extinguished, in common with those of the pykasht ryots. Acts 12 of 1841 and 1 of 1845 had made no alteration in the power of the auction-purchasers, or in the status of the ryots. They simply classified the different classes of tenants, exempted from enhancement or ejectment, who were in general and rather technical terms described in Section 32 Regulation XI. of 1822.

On a recapitulation of the foregoing it would appear that neither before, nor subsequent to, the acquisition of the Dewanny by the East India Company, were the rents of the ryots, adjusted upon the principle of a customary Pergunnah rate; but that the only principle then recognized, both by

the Government and the Zemindars, was to take from the ryots as much as they could pay. That it was on the basis of this extortionate rental, that the Permanent Settlement with the Zemindars was concluded. That under the terms and conditions of that settlement, the relations between the proprietor and the tenant, were left to the uncontrolled action of the understanding they might mutually come to, except in the cases of dependent talookdars, and Istemrardars, described in Section 48-49 of Regulation VIII., of 1793. That the only right of occupancy then recognized, was that of the khood-kasht ryots, who held their lands on pottahs, which on expiry or cancelment, were ruled to be renewable at the Nirikbundi of the Pergunnah. That the expression Pergunnah rate, thus used in the Regulation VIII. of 1793, and in Regulation XLIV. of that year, and IV. of 1794, were meaningless, inasmuch, as there never was any generally recognized and established Pergunnah rate, as shown above. That the mischievous consequences, which were inevitably to ensue to the landed interest of the country, from the use of this meaningless expression, began to be soon felt, and was speedily remedied by Regulation XXXV. of 1795, and VII. of 1799, so far as the Government interest was concerned. That by Regulation VII. of 1799, even the occupancy right of the khood-kasht ryot, was entirely obliterated, by the auction-purchaser being empowered to evict all ryots who did not come to his terms, without any previous application to the Adawlut; which he was before required to do by Section 7 Regulation IV. of 1794, in case of dispute as to the Pergunnah rate; with the exception simply of dependent talookdars and Istemrardars. That in the case of the original engagers with the Government, this iniquitous measure was not withdrawn until 1812, when by Regulation V. and

XVIII. of that year, the obnoxious Section 6, of Regulation IV. of 1794, as regarded proprietors other than auction-purchaser was rescinded, and the fact of the Pergunnah rate being a myth, was thus reluctantly admitted: "There being however reason to believe, that the Pergunnah rates are in many instances become very uncertain, the following rules shall be observed on all occasions." The practical bearing of the rules was, that during the year, the estate was sold for arrears of Government revenue, the purchaser was to collect rents from the ryots, at the highest rate prevailing in the Pergunnah, or places adjacent thereto, and that in subsequent years, he was to be entitled to recover, by distress, any rent he might give notice of to his tenant, previous to the season of cultivation, to give him the option of quitting the land, if he did not agree to the terms. That since the passing of Regulation VIII. of 1793, the first mention made of the khood-kasht ryot, is in Regulation VIII. of 1819, the Putnee Law, in which the experiment, of how the exemption from ejectment of hereditary khood-kasht ryots on the sale of a Talook for arrears of rents, would practically answer, was being tried at the risk of the Zemindar, the defaulting Putneedar, and the purchaser. That it was not until 1822, that the occupancy right of the khood-kasht ryot was revived in the case of estates sold for arrears of Government revenue, by the ever doubtful and ambiguous definition of "resident and hereditary cultivator having a prescriptive right of occupancy."

Such being the state of the law, prior to the passing of Act 10 of 1859, I contend, that the provision in Section 6 of that Act, is an encroachment on the rights of the Zemindars, and repugnant to the fundamental principles of the Permanent Settlement I also deny,

what is so positively asserted in the judgment, that a fixed and invariable rate has come down from the time of Toran Mull, and been always respected in the adjustment of rent, until the passing of the recent sale laws. The fact is that the Legislature wanted to try the experiment, when it thought it could afford to be liberal to the ryots at the expence of the Zemindars, but abandoned the experiment, as soon as it discovered that the integrity of the Government revenue was thereby endangered. Such being the state of facts, derivable from a faithful analysis of the laws, I venture respectfully to submit that the conclusion which the learned Judges have come to is quite untenable *viz.*, that Act 10 has only revived the ancient rights of occupancy of the ryots, and with it, the immemorial customary rate, which must therefore be the standard for the enhancement of their rents Under Section 17 of the Act.

The major proposition in the judgment, which is the invariable customary rate handed down by the Permanent Settlement, having been shown to be not founded on fact, the corollary deduced therefrom, which is the rule of proportion, must be necessarily wrong. It is remarkable, however, that the learned Judges should commit themselves to the strange dictum, that the current rents of the occupancy ryots, were based upon any uniform principle, so as to justify the application of the rule of proportion in their future adjustments, knowing as they do, that the sale laws, since 1822, must have reduced many of them, into the condition of tenants holding their lands at rack rents. But suppose that equal, and even-handed justice is dispensed with, so that those who happen to enjoy their lands at low rates, may have the benefit of the rule. In such cases, to parry the blow aimed at him, the Zemindar has only to institute an enhancement suit, under

both the first and the second ground of enhancement *viz.* First, that the rate of rent paid by the ryot is below the prevailing rate. Second, that the value of the produce has increased, otherwise than by the agency or at the expence of the ryot. He will prove the rate he claims, by some rack rent rates of lands, held by ryots who were tenants at will, until by the operation of Section 6 of the Act, they have been converted into ryots wth rights of occupancy; and then proceed to prove the enhanced rent he is entitled to, by the rise in the price, according to the rack rent rate, already proved, and thus render the rule of proportion, quite impotent for mischief.

It is no less remarkable, that with Section 18 of the Act before them, the learned Judges should have seriously come to the conclusion, that it was quite consistent with the spirit of the Act, and the intentions of the Legislature, that the rents of the occupancy ryots, should be regulated by the so-called customary rate. The Section alluded to runs thus "every ryot having a right of occupancy shall be entitled to claim an abatement of the rent previously paid by him, if the area of the land has been diminished by diluvian or otherwise; or if the value of the produce or the productive powers of the land have been decreased by any cause beyond the power of the ryot; or if the quantity of land held by the ryot has been proved by measurement to be less than the quantity for which rent has been previously paid by him." The Legislature must have been well aware that, under the operation of the recent sale laws, most of those holdings which by Section 6 of the Act have now been converted into occupancy terms, were held at rack rent rates. Is it not conformable with reason, that if it was the intention of the Legislature, that the rents of the occupancy ryots, should

be regulated by a uniform customary rate (supposing there was such a thing in existence) that it would have taken care, to make it a ground of claim on the part of the ryot for abatement, when the rate at which he paid his rent, was higher than the customary rate? But we find, that while the different grounds on which an occupancy ryot can fairly claim abatement, have been carefully inserted in the Section quoted above, and while by the 1st Clause of Section 17 the Zemindar has been empowered to raise the lower rates of these ryots, to the highest standard ruling in the village, in respect of the same class of tenants, the corresponding privilege of claiming abatement, by reason of excessive or higher rate than the customary one, has been studiously withheld from the ryot. So that if an occupancy tenure happened to be held at 7-12ths of the gross produce (not an improbable assumption, as I shall hereafter show) whilst others of the class, and even tenures at will, held at 4-12ths of the produce only, (which is now the competitive rate in many places, as I shall likewise show) the former under the Act, must nevertheless continue to be so held, or given up.

But the rule of proportion, besides being unsupported by any prior legislation, and repugnant to a right of property, which in unmistakeable terms has been guaranteed to the proprietors, however weak or uncertain, their title to it might originally have been, is incoherent in itself. Under the principle laid down for determining the enhanced rent, to which the Zemindar is entitled, the primary thing to be ascertained, is the rate at which the ryot had hitherto paid his rent, which the judges assume, is the customary Pergunnah rate, and which must for all times, measure the Zemindar's share in the produce of the land. To find out this unknown and most essential quantity, the only data given, are

the area of land, and its present rental, which, I need scarcely say, are quite inadequate for the purpose. The exact produce of the land, and the exact price of such produce, at the time the settlement of the current rent was made, must be first known, before any attempt can be made, to find out the rate at which the rent was last adjusted. Now there may be half-a-dozen causes, to deteriorate or enhance the productive powers of the land, within a limited time, entirely independent of the agency of the ryot or the Zemindar; and yet to work the formula, we are required to assume, that the productive power remains the same.

With regard to the value of produce, the learned Judges very complaisantly say: "A Zemindar, on suing to enhance, must state the grounds on which he desires the enhancement. If his claim be founded on the increase in the value of the produce through a simple rise of price, he will, whatever may be the mode of adjustment determined on, have to state the circumstances leading to the demand, and he will have to inform the Court of the particular rise in price subsequent to the last adjustment which justifies that demand. In stating this he will give the Court sufficient data for the formula above laid down." It is very difficult to catch the meaning intended to be conveyed by these words. To mean any thing to the purpose, they must mean this; that to come before the Court, under the second ground of enhancement, as the Zemindar must show, "whatever may be the mode of adjustment determined on," what the price of the produce was, when the adjustment of the current rent took place, as also its present price, he will thereby give the Court sufficient data to work the formula. But with due deference to the learned Judges, I beg to submit that in showing to the Court that the rate previously paid, was not fair and equitable, it is not at all

necessary to go into the fact of the past price and produce, but to prove what they are at present, and after making a fair allowance from the product thereof, for the ryot's profit, to show by the remainder that the rate at which the current rent might have been adjusted, was not fair and equitable within the meaning of the Act. Whereas under the proposed rule of proportion, the finding out of the exact rate at which the current rent was adjusted and which is assumed to be the Pergunnah rate, is a *conditio sine qua non.* For this purpose, we must have the exact measure of produce, and the exact price of the same, at the time of the last settlement, since the rate is the multiplier, and a slight difference in it, will materially vary the product, either in favor or against the different parties concerned.

Convinced, however, of the impossibility of ascertaining the exact price which prevailed at the time the last settlement had taken place with the ryot, the learned Judges say, "it is not necessary to refer to the period of the last adjustment itself. The price of the produce previous to the date of the alleged rise in value, will be sufficient data on which to base the formula of proportion." This at-any-price solution of the problem, I must be permitted to say, is an admission, that the rule of proportion is unmanageable for practical purposes. Suppose, for instance, that the current rent which is sought to be enhanced is 2 Rs. for 2 beegahs of paddy land, the price of the paddy at the last settlement with the defendant was 4 maunds a rupee, four years prior to the institution of the suit, 2 maunds a rupee, and at the time of the suit, 1 maund a rupee. Taking the produce at 8 maunds a beegah, we find, that the rate at which the current settlement was made with the ryot, is ½ the produce, whereas if the calculation was made according to the price which ruled 4 years prior to the suit, the result

would show the rate at ¼ the produce; enhanced rent at the present price, will therefore be in one case 4 Rs. a beegah and in the other only 2 rupees. Such is the result the rule of proportion leads to, worked under the guidance of the instructions which the learned Judges have condescended to lay down. The manner in which the learned Judges have met the objections of Mr. Doyne to the rule of proportion, is to say the least, very disingenuous, since in every instance it is assumed that the plaintiff came before the Court under a contract, wherein the terms of the ryot's occupancy were distinctly mentioned, though the learned Judges must know well enough, that in ninety cases out of a hundred no contract is produced at all.

I am ready to admit however, that a principle may be very correct, though there may be difficulties in reducing it to practice. Let us see if the difficulties in the present instance might not be otherwise overcome. The principle laid down in the judgment is, that the rents of the occupancy ryots, are to be adjusted by that invariable Pergunnah rate which has determined his rent from time immemorial. The rules laid down by the learned Judges for finding this Pergunnah rate are as already shown, most unscientific, because they call into requisition elements, which are still more beyond reach, and because, considering the undeniable fact of the same quantity and quality of land being held in the same village at different rents, the application of those rules for finding out the rate, would necessarily lead to the absurd result of a variety of rates prevailing in the same village, which is inconsistent with the current notion of a Pergunnah rate. If however the Pergunnah rate is at all to be the guide, there is no question that a faithful Jummabundee or rental account of a ryot prior to the Permanent Settlement, is the

most reliable source, from which the same can be obtained. The following is the literal translation of the Jummabundee of a ryot, taken from the records of the 24-Pergunnah Collectorate. The measurement and the assessment were conducted under the orders, and supervision of the Collector, and not the extortionate Zemindar.

Jummabundee. Dukhin Seerpore Talook Mokoondaram and others.

SREE SREE DOORGA.

YEAR 1190.

Pergunnah Magora.

Joyram Saw.

According to present measurement and Ekwal.	Land.		Rate.			Total.		
	Bgs.	C.	Rs.	A.	G.	Rs.	A.	G.
Culturable Sallee or Paddy land.....	2	7	1	12	8	4	2	12
Embankment charges.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12
	2	7	0	0	0	4	5	4
Deduct the land and rent of 1189 B. S.	2	7	0	0	0	3	11	3
Increase	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	4

From this Jummabundee we find, that the share of produce payable by the ryot for each beegah of paddy land, was in money nearly 1 rupee 12 annas 6 pie. Taking the average produce of the first quality paddy land at 10 maunds a beegah, and the price at 4 maunds a rupee, which is as high as it could possibly have been at the time, and the straw at 8 annas per beegah, we find that the yield of each beegah in money was Rs. 3, of which 7-12ths were the Zemin-

dar's share and 5-12ths that of the ryot. There is another fact observable in the Jummabundee, worthy of notice *viz.*, that though there had been no increase in the area of the land at the measurement of 1190 B. S., still there was a rise of 10 annas 4 gundahs on the Jumma of the year before, being at the rate of more than four annas a beegah; so that the money value of the rate, which must have been 1 rupee 8 annas a beegah in 1189 B. S., was raised to 1 rupee 12 annas in 1190 B. S. or in other words, the share of produce payable by the ryot, which was 6-12ths or just half, was raised to 7-12ths. From this document, the authenticity of which cannot be impeached, it is clear, therefore, First, that the rate of rent prevalent in 1190 B. S. or nearly 7 years prior to the Permanent Settlement was 7-12ths the produce; Second, that the rate, or share of produce, payable in those days for the use of land, was not, as is so positively asserted by the learned Judges on the authority of Mr. Mill, fixed, but fluctuating, and that again, without the intervention of the arbitrary cesses exacted by the Zemindars; unless it should be believed, that the great increase in the money value of the rate was justified, by a sudden, and for that time, an extraordinary rise in the value of the produce.

That the rate of rent at that time was very near what has been above deduced from the Jummabundee, is placed beyond a doubt, by Clause 14, Section 53, Regulation XXVII. of 1803, prescribing rules for the settlement of the Provinces ceded by the Newab's Vizier. The Clause runs thus: "Where neither the proprietors nor farmers may tender suitable conditions of agreement, a khas or bowlee settlement shall be made with the ryots; stipulating the shares they are to get from the different kinds of land as follows: In politch lands, or such as are in full cultivation, Government shall receive five pussarees and the

ryots three pussarees. In chunchur lands, or such as have not been cultivated, for two or three years, Government shall receive two, and the ryot six pussarees. In bunjer, or waste lands, Government shall receive one, and the ryot seven pussarees. Chunchur lands after one, and bunjer lands after two years, shall be considered equal to the politch; and further, the bunjer lands after one year shall be taxed equal to chunchur. In the khas settlement, the bhaint or *nuzzerana* shall be abolished; the putwaree's wages shall be borne by the ryots; but the mussaut, or measuring and valuing the crops, shall be defrayed by Government, in consideration of the additional pussaree received out of the politch crop. In all cases where crops are valued, it shall be done according to the price current of the day. In the khas settlement, the ryots shall engage that the cultivation of the lands shall not fall off, and that they shall not undertake the cultivation of new lands, until they have accomplished that of the old." From this it is evident, that even in 1803 the prevailing rate in the North West was 5-8ths the produce, with the additional charge upon the ryot, for the maintenance of the putwarees. This was not the rate exacted by an unscrupulous, hard-hearted Bengal Zemindar, or by a rapacious Indigo planter, from a timid and unresisting tenantry, but by a humane and paternal Government, ever anxious to promote the welfare and contentment of those placed under its rule. Nothing therefore can be a more unerring guide, in determining the customary rate according to which the land rent of the country used to be adjusted when the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was concluded.

If therefore the principle advocated in the judgment for the determination of the enhanced rent, be correct, surely it

would be more safe, as well as satisfactory to all parties concerned, to adopt the rate laid down in the law, than that it should be arrived at, by the vague and uncertain mode, indicated in the judgment. But though proved from the Jummabundee, and the Regulation cited above, that the rate, some 60 or 70 years ago, was 7-12ths and 5-8ths of the crop, yet I can positively assert, for Lower Bengal at any rate, that no land can now be let out, at a rate higher than half the produce. *Adhabhaug* or half the produce, is the competitive rate of the day, with a tendency to go down still lower, and I doubt very much also if the rates of 1803 can be obtained for any land in the North West. So we find, that the customary or Pergunnah rate, advocated in the judgment, is not the fixed and invariable rate handed down by Torun Mull and adopted by the East India Company before and after the settlement; and that instead of its being a boon, it would be positively ruinous to the ryots, if their rents were now adjusted according to the learned Judges' idea and definition of the Pergunnah rate, *viz.*, by the rate which prevailed immediately before or after the settlement; unless, as shown above, the insuperable difficulties opposed in the way of the Zemindar, on whom lies the onus of proof, should practically have the effect of ultimately driving him out of Court, which, it is sincerely to be hoped, is not the main aim and scope of the rule of proportion adopted in the judgment.

But while I have no hesitation in condemning the judgment of the majority, as opposed to law, unsound in principle, and leading practically to results, as absurd as they are ruinous to the ryots, I regard the English principle of adjustment adopted by the Chief Justice, as still more ruinous to the Zemindars. Paradoxical as at first view this assertion may appear, it is nevertheless strictly

true—and I only wonder, that the deception has not long since been dispelled. The rate of 1 rupee 3 annas a beegah, awarded in the case of Hill *versus* Issur Ghose, is considered extravagantly high, and the fact of the very Zemindars, who have got their rent suits decreed at 1 rupee 3 annas a beegah, gladly reducing it to 12 annas, to induce the ryots to retain their tenures, is considered to be proof positive that the mode of calculation adopted by the Chief Justice, in the determination of the rate, must be ruinous to the ryots. But the real truth is that, owing to some unaccountable cause, the mistake was made by the first Court in finding the fact of the gross produce. To any person at all conversant with the soil of the Nuddea district the fact of a beegah of *Soona matan* land in that district, yielding, even at the present high prices of produce, so much as 9 rupees 4 annas, will appear truly marvellous. Even the best Sallee or low lands of Hooghly, Burdwan, and 24-Pergunnahs, which are renovated every year by the fructifying agency of the inundations caused by the periodical rains, do not yield more—yet those lands are greedily sought for at 4 Rs. a beegah. Nevertheless in the famous Issur Ghose's case, it is solemnly recorded, as a fact found, that Rs. 148 is the gross produce of 16 beegahs, or 9 Rs. 4 annas per beegah. Now, I most emphatically deny that these lands even if left fallow for 2 years successively, will yield a crop worth more than 7 rupees, and I assert that the average yield of these lands, fallow and arable taken together, does not exceed Rs. 4 a beegah. I have adopted these figures to place myself beyond all possibility of a mistake, though I am positive enough, that taken by the average of 5 years, these lands, which are more fitted for rabbit warrens than for cultivation, do not yield more than 3 rupees a beegah, as the following

statement, prepared with great care and after much enquiry, will show :

	Mds.	Rs.	As.	P.
1st year.—After the fallow state, Mustard seed five Arces which will weigh.....	1	3	0	0
2nd year.—1st crop Aos Paddy 6 Soli or 1½ Bis, or.....	6	3	8	0
2nd crop, Linseed 5 Arces, or	1	3	0	0
3rd year.—Two crops, Aos Paddy and Arhur sown together of which Paddy 1 Bis, or	6	2	6	0
Arhur	1½	1	14	0
4th & 5th years.—To remain fallow :				
The average crop of 5 years Rs... ...		13	12	0

or less than 3 Rs. a beegah.

But suppose, to be doubly sure, we take the yield of the 23 beegahs in Issur Ghose's case at 5 rupees average, the account will stand thus :

	Rs.	As.	P.
Gross produce of beegahs 23 at 5 Rs. a beegah	115	0	0

Outgoings according to the calculation of the Chief Justice.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
1. Wages of ryots including provision of house.....	43	8	0			
2. Additional hired labour.....	12	0	0			
3. Food of bullocks and cowherd's wages..... ...	12	0	0			
4. Interest on half the above sums for half the year at 50 per cent.	7	8	0			
5. Seed one rupee per beegah ...	16	0	0			
6. Interest on the Stock at 50 per cent.	29	0	0			
				120	0	0

Showing a deficiency of Rs. 5, which the Zemindar has to make good to the ryot. But irrespective of the mistake, which, to me it is quite clear, the lower Court must have made in finding the fact of gross produce, the very circumstance, of the calculation of the Chief Justice leaving Rs. 28 for the Zemindar's share out of the gross yield of Rs. 148, or less than one-fifth, the rate which is said to have prevailed during the age of Menu or Satya Yoog, will appear to be monstrous, when it is borne in mind that the Permanent Settlement was concluded with the proprietors, on the basis of a rental which, as I have shown above, must have been calculated at a much higher rate than half the produce of the land. Make the ryotty settlement of any permanently settled estate, even after enrichment by waste lands since reclaimed, on the principle of the deductions adopted in the judgment of the Chief Justice—and I warrant that the rental thus obtained, will be found to be less than the Government revenue, now payable for the estate. But it is not every District nor every estate in any District, as I have before observed, which had the advantage of waste lands granted free of rent; and one can easily conceive the effect of this judgment upon such estates, settled as they were with the Zemindars, at 60 or 70 per cent. of the then value of the gross produce, allowing only an eleventh thereof for their Malikana.

With the arbitrary and irreconciliable distinctions for the first time sought to be introduced in the land tenures of the country by the creation of those anomalous holdings discribed in Section 6 of the Act,—and with the check offered, in the exercise of judicial discretion by the vague terms "fair and equitable" in the determination of the rent thereof, it is not to be wondered at, that an English lawyer would con-

full that discretion by what he conceived to be the universally applicable principles of Political Economy. But where was the local experience, the knowledge of the Regulation Laws, the customs and usages of the country, with which the civilian Judges, and above all, Justice Sumbhoo Nauth Pundit were expected to aid the Barrister Judges, in the administration of justice in the highest Appellate Court of the country? One with any pretension to a knowledge of the country, should not be ignorant, that with the caste prejudices in full swing, absence, until lately of any extensive demand for skilled labour, intense love for one's own village, and reluctance, even in the lowest classes, to remove their families from amongst their *Jatkootum* to places where they may temporarily repair for work, have contributed to raise up a class in this country, who can as much afford to give up agriculture, as their religion itself; and who would sooner toil upon their land, if it but just paid them wages enough for a bare subsistence, than he tempted away from home by the sure prospect of earning triple that remuneration. It was upon a principle of demand and supply, based somewhat upon a different calculation from what obtains in European countries, that the rent of land in this country has been always regulated; and any attempt to introduce the European principle in the adjustment of the same, will revolutionize the landed system of the country, and materially endanger the public revenue itself.

Such are the results to which the principle advocated in the judgments, if correctly and faithfully carried out, would inevitably lead. The one endorsed by the majority of the Judges, would prove absolutely ruinous to the ryots, though it is generally supposed to be in their interest, while that of the Chief Justice, by leading to the

rate which prevailed during the age of Menu, prove ruinous to the Zemindar and eventually to the public revenue In fact, if upon the improvement of the Zemindarees, consequent on a rise in the value of produce and the cultivation of the waste lands, the overthrow of the Permanent Settlement was really aimed at, as it was at one time seriously apprehended upon the appearance of certain minutes of Lord Dalhousie and Mr. Halliday, no scheme could have been better devised for effecting that purpose, than what, in ignorance of the landed system of the country, is, with such show of reason and justice, propounded in the judgment of the Chief Justice.. There can be no question, that the errors into which the learned Judges have been unconsciously led, are mainly owing to the anomalous character of the tenure which the Legislature of 1859, in its humane regard for the poor ryots of Bengal, for the first time created by Section 6, of Act 10 of that year, forgetting the golden maxim " that one should be just before he is generous." Any remedy to be truly efficacious, must address itself to the real cause of the evil. Let the gross injustice done to the Zemindars by the enactment in question be corrected, and let their condition be restored to what it was at the Permanent Settlement, and things will at once be simplified. We shall then have to deal with such occupancy ryots only whose tenures have come down by inheritance, from before the Permanent Settlement. No Zemindar, I feel confident, with any pretention to a right and proper feeling, will grudge to show special favors to those who are settled for generations on his estate, and who, to the credit of some of the Zemindars I must say, are regarded as members of their own household.

In Lower Bengal, all culturable lands naturally divide themselves into Salee and Soonar, or low and high

and are rated according to the natural fructifying advantages which they respectively enjoy. The Salee lands are only fit for Paddy, and on the Soona lands, according to their nature and capacity, are grown, besides *Aus Paddy*, the different kinds of seed, vegetables, sugarcane, mulberry, tubers, fibrous and dye-producing plants, as also fruit trees. Both Salee and Soona are again sub-divided into different classes according, as I have observed, to the natural advantages which they enjoy; and competitive money rates spring up for each, from time to time, in exact obedience to the laws of demand and supply. If the ryot improves upon the advantages which any class of land naturally possesses, by his own skill and capital, he enjoys exclusively the benefits of the improvement. As for instance. if the ryot, instead of growing tobacco upon Soona land of the first quality, of which the competition rate is Rs. 8 a beegah, should plant mulberry or sugarcane, he does so at his own risk and profit. The Zemindar has no more right to claim from him more than his 8 rupees, which is the intrinsic value of the land, than he has to a share of the ryot's income derived from sources other than the land. I am perfectly aware that in olden times, the Zemindars (some even now) would vary the rates according to the nature of the crop, as is observable from Section 56 Regulation VIII. of 1793 quoted elsewhere, but such injudicious and unreasonable exactions, were of a piece with the imposition of Abwab, which was more of the nature of an income tax, than a rent, and which a ryot of the present day will submit to under circumstances which must very peculiar indeed. The rates now established in Lower Bengal in pursuance of the laws enunciated above, vary from ½ to ⅓ the gross produce raised with ordinary cost and

labor: For instance in the Districts of Beerbhoom, Burdwan, Hooghly and in parts of the 24-Pergunnahs, the population is so dense and a winter crop of Paddy, which is the chief produce of the country, is raised with so little expense, that lands are greedily sought for at half the gross produce, whilst such parts of the 24-Pergunnahs, Baraset, Jessore, and Backergunge, as are contiguous to the Soonderbuns, 6-16ths of the gross produce, are what the Zemindar readily accepts for his lands. Again, the Soona Matan lands of Rungpore, Moorshedabad and Nuddea, which have been too long acquired from the river, to be annually inundated and enriched by a loamy deposit, cannot be let out at more than ⅓ the gross produce, because the risk and expense of raising a crop therefrom, are comparatively greater. In the same way there can be no difficulty in finding out the competitive rate at which lands in the different districts are from time to time let out. And though I deny that the Legislature, as shown above, have ever conceded to the hereditary khood-kasht ryots any right, beyond the occupancy of their lands, on the punctual payment of rent, at the Pergunnah rates for the time being, the Zemindars, I am sure will glady make an exception in their favor, by making an allowance of ⅛th on the competitive rate, which is nearly 1-16ths on the gross produce, *viz.*, if the competitive rate be 4 Rs. a beegah, the Zemindar will accept 3-8 from the khood-kasht ryot; and let each such settlement last for 10 years. An allowance of ⅛th on the competitive rate, which is equivalent to granting 1-16ths of a ryot's holding free of rent, I humbly conceive, is as much as the occupancy ryots can reasonably expect, or the Zemindar can possibly afford to forego: and will upon calculation be found to be considerably more than what the Zemindars

were allowed for their Malikana at the Permanent Settlement, or the dependent talookdar by Section 8 Regulation V. of 1812, upon the re-settlement of his talook, after sale for arrears. There are half-a-dozen ways of getting easily at the competitive rate, such as an enquiry into the latest rate of Koorfa ryots amongst whom land constantly change hands and rates at which Hasil Khamar lands may have been last let out, and an officer who cannot correctly find out the competitive rate, ruling in his Pergunnah or District, is not worthy of being retained in the service. That done, the whole question at issue is at once solved, by assessing the lands in suit at 7-8ths the competitive rates, found for the time being for lands of a similar quality.

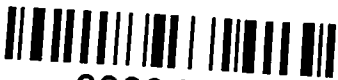
While upon the rent law, it is as well to advert briefly to Section 4 of the Act, which rules "whenever, in any suit under this Act, it shall be proved that the rent at which land is held by a ryot in the said Provinces has not been changed for a period of twenty years before the commencement of the suit, it shall be presumed that the land has been held at that rent from the time of the Permanent Settlement, unless the contrary be shown, or unless it be proved that such rent was fixed at some later period." The reason and the object of this provision are plain enough, and are no doubt very sound in the case of Estates which have been held in the same family since the Permanent Settlement, or acquired by private sale. Because in such cases it is to be supposed that the collection papers are in the possession of the proprietors, and the presumption of occupancy at fixed rents, from the Permanent Settlement, raised, on proof being given by the tenant of his so holding the tenure for the last 20 years, if wrong, might be rebutted

by the proofs in the possession of the proprietor. But with what justice or propriety, can any portion of the burden be shifted on the auction-purchaser, who has come to the ownership of the property by purchase either under Regulation XI. of 1822 or I. of 1845, and who, it cannot be supposed, is in possession of any papers appertaining to the estate previously to his purchase, and who had made the purchase, upon the full assurance given him by the provisions of those laws, of being able, with certain exceptions, to adjust the rental of the Estate according to his own will and pleasure? Is he not by the necessity of his position, less able to rebut the presumption raised, by proving the contrary, than the tenant, to prove his possession of the tenure at fixed rent, from the Permanent Settlement? And is it not a gross breach of contract with the purchaser, to throw upon him, by an *expost facto* law, the burden, which, by a long current of decision of the highest Appellate Court of the country, had been wholly laid on the ryot? The same remark is, if possible, with greater force applicable, to Section VI. or occupancy Clause of the Act, in respect of purchasers under the above laws; since the purchaser was empowered by them, to evict and enhance at discretion the rents of all tenants, who might have come to the occupancy of their tenures since the Permanent Settlement. Surely this is a gross violation of the terms and conditions of the sale, on the faith of the inviolability of which the purchaser must have calculated his future income from the estate, and competed for its purchase accordingly, but which since the passing of the Act, it is quite possible, may not be worth half the sum paid for it. The gross injustice done to the auction purchasers especially, by the provisions of this Section, is so glaring, that even Mr.

Trevor with two other Judges, did not hesitate to rule in the case of Sheik Kaloo and others (Plaintiffs) Appellants *vs.*, Sheik Khanoo and others (Defendants) Respondents, decided on the 31st December 1861, that the Section under notice, had a prospective and not a retrospective effect, however contrary it might be to his present ruling in the case under comment, and opposed to the strict letter of the law.

In conclusion I owe a word to the reader in explanation of the motive which has impelled me to these hasty remarks. Living in a country almost exclusively agricultural, I feel that a clear and precise understanding of the relative rights of the landlord and tenant in the soil, is of the most vital importance to the peace and harmony of its teeming millions. The question, notwithstanding numberless legislative enactments and judicial decisions, yet remains on a most unsatisfactory footing, and the amount of misery, litigation and heart-burning, caused by it, can be adequately conceived by those only, who like myself, have constant opportunities of experiencing them in their stern reality. Any attempt, however, humble and insignificant, to aid in the solution of this all-important, though much vexed question, I regard therefore, as a contribution to the cause of humanity. Class interest I most emphatically disavow; it is the furthest from my view. That even handed justice—justice without fear or favor—may be done to all who are interested in the matter, is my only and most solemn desire; and if in the heat of argument I have said aught that might savour of partizanship, I beg that it may be attributed to the disadvantage I unhappily labour under, of writing principally on a side of the question, the justice due to which, I am afraid, has been very much overlooked by too generous and sympathetic a leaning to the other and indeed the more popu-

lar side. I would beg also to be excused for any expression of discourtesy to the learned and distinguished Judges of the High Court, to which I may have been betrayed in course of the above remarks. I cherish the most profound respect for those gentlemen, and shall be sorry to be thought capable of deliberately saying any thing discourteous of those who, by the assiduous and conscientious discharge of the onerous duties entrusted to them, have always commanded the respect and gratitude of the community at large.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